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FBIS-EEU-93-059 *30 March 1993*

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WEU Delegation Discusses National Security

AU2903203393 Sofia BTA in English 1924 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The visiting President of the Western European Union [WEU] Assembly Hartmut Soel today told the National Assembly Bulgaria's closer integration into European institutions is of vital importance for its national security. He suggested that Bulgaria targets a date for its association with the union, the National Assembly Press Office reported.

Mr. Soel expressed this view at a meeting with the National Assembly National Security Committee attended by the leader WEU Assembly's Political Committee Peter Stofelen and other WEU officials. The guests showed interest in Bulgaria's political relations with Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. The Chairman of the National Security Committee Nikolay Slatinski stressed Bulgaria is trying to pursue an independent policy but cannot ignore its economic dependence on the republics of the former Soviet Union.

The sides discussed the Bulgarian Army's equipment, military deliveries and the efficiency of the military-industrial complex. Members of the National Security Committee stressed that after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact Bulgaria's military potential is no longer equal to that of its neighbours and it needs European guarantees of national security.

The WEU's delegation is in this country since Saturday [27 March]. Beside the National Assembly National Security Committee, the guests this morning met with parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. The sides discussed the Yugo-crisis and the situation in the Balkans. The delegation was received by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov.

Mr. Yordanov stressed Bulgaria is a major factor of stability an peace in the Balkans. Mr. Soel and Mr. Stofelen showed interest in whether the Bulgarian public was ready to join Western European structures. They stressed there was a possibility for Bulgaria to join the WEU Assembly as an associate member.

If Europe does not recognize Macedonia, the consequences of bad political decisions in serbia may have an impact in Bulgaria, Mr. Stofelen told a news briefing in parliament this evening. At the briefing, the WEU guests discussed the aims of their visit and the results of today's talks.

The chairman of parliament's National Security Committee Slatinski said WEU officials of this rank were visiting Bulgaria for the first time.

The WEU officials said they saw Bulgaria's willingness to establish closer relations with the Union. The sides discussed issues of regional security in connection with the crisis in former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria's views of a settlement and difficulties in enforcing the embargo. They also discussed the recognition of Macedonia and the probable consequences of such an act for Bulgaria.

Mr. Stofelen said the WEU Assembly Political Committee will discuss opportunities to form a police force to help enforce the embargo on Serbia and the provision of technical assistance to Bulgaria. This will be done in response to Bulgaria's wish to obtain guarantees in upholding its position on the enforcement of the embargo.

Zhelev, Berov Receive Delegation

AU3003112193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] On 30 September in Sofia President Zhelyu Zhelev received the visiting delegation of the Political Commission of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union [WEU]. The talks revolved around issues of European security.

Mr. Zhelev expressed concern with the fact that small countries in Eastern Europe, which recently obtained more freedom, cultural, economic, and political possibilities, have narrowed the scope of their security to a large extent. Unfortunately, the Western European structures have still not found a mechanism to guarantee their security. The situation in former Yugoslavia is a typical example.

For their part the guests expressed discomfort with the fact that so far it has been impossible to find a way of ending the bloodshed in former Yugoslavia.

Asked by the guests what Bulgaria would do if things in Russia changed, Mr. Zhelev replied that Bulgaria is oriented toward Europe and for us there is no way back.

Prime Minister Berov also received the delegation of the Political Commission of the WEU Parliamentary Assembly.

Defense Minister Speaks at NACC Meeting

AU3003090393 Sofia BTA in English 0705 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Brussels, March 30 (BTA)—Bulgaria was among the 37 countries celebrating the first anniversary of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), promoting cooperation between NATO and the former Warsaw Pact, here yesterday.

Addressing the meeting, Bulgarian Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov expressed the Bulgarian Government's concern about the mounting danger of a spillover of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina into other regions. He reiterated Bulgaria's view that the Balkan countries should not take part in military actions on Yugoslav territory.

Valentin Aleksandrov said Bulgaria backed the idea of maintaining peace in the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and greeted the progress made in this area.

Valentin Aleksandrov informed the participants in the meeting of a project to set up a military training centre for peacekeeping operations with methodological and

material assistance from the NACC member countries. The centre could be used for joint initiatives, said Mr. Aleksandrov.

Military Cooperation With Poland Discussed

AU3003083293 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 24 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Vasil Dimitrov: "Bulgarian-Polish Military Cooperation Receives Impetus"]

[Text] On 23 March Valentin Aleksandrov, minister of defense of the Republic of Bulgaria, received Przemyslaw Grudzinski, Poland's deputy minister of national defense, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of his Bulgarian colleague, Mikhail Srebrev. During the talk it was pointed out that the visit is a real contribution to implementing the Bulgarian-Polish Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, recently signed in Warsaw by Presidents Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Walesa.

Minister Aleksandrov recalled the old traditions of Bulgarian-Polish military cooperation and expressed readiness to restore them, especially in the military-technical sphere, and in training Bulgarian officers at the Polish Naval Academy. At the guest's request he presented the views of the Bulgarian government about the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Mr. Aleksandrov did not hide his concern with the fact that the conflict could spread to Kosovo and Macedonia, something that could not only expand the dimensions of the tragedy, but could also present a test to the neighboring countries' policies. He pointed out that Bulgaria is determined by all means not to get involved in the conflict, and expressed confidence that a similar attitude on the part of the other Balkan states could contribute to preserving the rather delicate balance in the region.

After the meeting working talks between Deputy Ministers Mikhail Srebrev and Przemyslaw Grudzinski began. The two deputy ministers presented specific ideas about strengthening cooperation between the two ministries and Armies, as well as initiatives that could be implemented in the near future.

Karabashev Discusses Privatizing Enterprises

AU2903143693 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 23 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, by Yuliana Tsaneva; place and date not given: "Foreign Banks Cannot Participate in Privatization"]

[Text] [Tsaneva] Mr. Karabashev, why did the government make an unfavorable assessment of the Privatization Agency when the government is responsible for industry and the economy?

[Karabashev] You can see what Article 10 of the law states: The agency is the state organ that is supposed to organize and carry out privatization. It should provide the initiative for everything.

[Tsaneva] Yes, but Aleksandur Bozhkov, the agency's chief, complains that the government is holding up some of his initiatives, such as the formation of the group that is supposed to regulate the participation of banks in privatization.

[Karabashev] One can always find justifications, but this will not get privatization started. Of course, I do not overlook the responsibility of the other relevant government departments, especially the Ministries of Industry and Trade, although I am making major efforts to speed up their work. Nevertheless, very little has been done so far. Even in tourism, in which privatization is comparatively easy to carry out, nothing has been done, despite the fact that great interest has been shown in tourism facilities.

[Tsaneva] Stories are circulating that people are waiting to invest great amounts of money in Bulgarian tourism, but the Tourism Committee persists in denying them.

[Karabashev] To date there has been no announcement on the procedure for privatizing any hotel, and until the relevant auction, competition by tender, or negotiations take place, all information will remain mere rumor. When we reach the stage of arranging a deal and see whether there is any demand or not, then we can see what the true position is.

[Tsaneva] I have heard of hostile attitudes to joint ventures.

[Karabashev] There are probably many such cases. Often this information does not even reach the Council of Ministers, but the offers are rejected at a lower level.

[Tsaneva] However, in addition to subjective reasons there are also objective obstacles, such as the failure to complete drafting the regulations for the privatization process.

[Karabashev] It is true that it is impossible to decide certain major questions at the stroke of a pen, but at the same time the ministries and the Privatization Agency can work on privatization with the present legislative base. However, in the case of some facilities, ownership has been established and no claims for restitution are outstanding, so we should go ahead with arranging a deal. Some time ago I asked whether we could privatize at least one industrial enterprise. Deputy Minister Racho Petrov said it was possible. We must simply do this now, at long last.

[Tsaneva] Nevertheless, the state companies are crippled by debts. Didn't you establish that their overall debts are higher than their permanent assets?

[Karabashev] Let us not forget that nominal value is one thing, but market valuation is quite another.

[Tsaneva] Isn't there a risk of the banks taking over state property, since the enterprises are debtors and the banks can appropriate their property in return for the money that they have lent them?

[Karabashev] Of course not. If we take as a theoretical example an enterprise that owes 100 million leva to a certain bank and has assets valued at the same amount, this does not mean that the bank will acquire all the enterprise's shares, because the balance sheet value and the market valuation will be different. Apart from this, the law imposes restrictions on bank participation.

[Tsaneva] Isn't this possible in cases where there are numerous creditors?

[Karabashev] In almost all cases there are only one or two major creditors, and they can take part in the privatization of the enterprise concern by swapping debt for property, while the remaining creditors will get their money back later, when the enterprise becomes solvent again.

[Tsaneva] What about the fact that our state companies owe some of their debts to foreign banks?

[Karabashev] The debts to foreign creditors are mainly owed by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, not by the enterprises directly. Furthermore, we can make international swaps of property for debt as soon as we conclude an agreement with the London Club and establish the terms on which we will clear our debts to foreign private banks.

[Tsaneva] Is it clear when privatization will be carried out in foreign trade?

[Karabashev] The desire exists, and in fact it is not so difficult to do. Last year an attempt was made to analyze the foreign trade associations and establish the property that they own abroad. I have now appointed a special commission to do this.

In principle the firms operating abroad are subsidiary companies, and the Trade Ministry will have all the information about them that the relevant foreign trade associations possess. I think that the commission has about two more months work to complete, but I can tell you now that the first foreign trade association that we will aim to privatize is Rodopaimpeks.

General Staff Chief Receives NATO Commander

AU3003063193 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian General Staff, today received Lieutenant General Joseph Ashe, NATO Allied Air Force Commander Southern Europe, who arrived on a three-day official visit here yesterday.

Bulgaria has taken a clear position on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, a position of neutrality and guaranteed regional peace, Army General Petrov said at the official meeting. According to him, no Bulgarians are fighting in Bosnia. He also said that in terms of its Armed Forces' strength, Bulgaria compared unfavourably with its neighbours and the imbalance should be reduced to a minimum.

General Ashe said after the meeting his visit to Bulgaria was an expression of good will by NATO's Allied Air Force Command for Southern Europe towards the Bulgarian Air Force.

General Ashe will visit military installations and will meet Deputy Defense Minister Khristo Tomov.

Zhelev Meets With EFTA States' Ambassadors

AU3003121693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev received the ambassadors to Bulgaria of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] states in Sofia on 30 March.

He thanked them for the aid and assistance rendered to Bulgaria by the signing of the agreement with EFTA. In the near future EFTA could provide more opportunities than the EC. This was the opinion of all participants in the meeting.

At the end of the meeting Mr. Zhelev pointed out that the stories about the country's increasing isolation were refuted by the facts. Within only one month Bulgaria signed agreements with the EC and EFTA, he said.

Council of Ministers Raises Fuel Prices

AU2903195993 Sofia BTA in English 1707 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today approved bilateral draft agreements for investment protection and promotion between Bulgaria and Poland, Romania and Ukraine.

The cabinet discussed a Bulgarian-Mexican agreement for technological and scientific cooperation. The cabinet ministers also approved a Bulgarian-Norwegian draft programme for cultural, educational and scientific cooperation in the 1993-95 period.

A commission headed by Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev will analyse the regional governors' performance and will set criteria for their work, the cabinet decided today. The decision was taken after the ministers rejected Prime Minister Berov's proposal to dismiss Khaskovo's regional governor, arguing this could be taken for a politically motivated dismissal. They agreed, though, that many incumbent regional governors had been appointed for political reasons.

The cabinet raised petrol prices by 0.20 leva and decreased diesel oil prices 0.20 leva. Liquid fuel prices were fixed for the next two weeks as follows: Petrol a-98 at 11.40 leva, a-96 at 11.20, a-93 at 11.00, a-91 at 10.80, a-86 at 10.20, diesel oil at 7.80. (the current exchange rate is 26.56 leva to the dollar.)

In connection with difficulties in pig-breeding and the provision of fodder the cabinet will propose that 500 million leva worth of fodder grain and tapioca be imported.

Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev proposed and the cabinet decided to permit industrial enterprises to use 2,000 tonnes of wool from the state reserve. It was decided on principle to suspend wool export until the state reserve is restored.

The National Council for Tripartite Cooperation met today. The participants in the meeting again failed to reach an agreement on the size of the cost-of-living adjustment to employees in the state-financed sector. The representatives of the cabinet insist that the cost-of-living adjustment cannot exceed 43.5 per cent for doctors and teachers and 41.2 per cent for all other professions, while the trade unions demand a 47 per cent pay rise.

BSDP Accuses BSP of 'Bolshevist Nostalgia'

AU2903165393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] At the weekly news conference of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP], the party's leader Dr. Petur Dertliev declared that the delicate expression that was used at yesterday's conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is rather an expression of Bolshevist nostalgia.

The BSP, with its actions, is trying to draw the country back to the era of primitive capitalism, Mr. Dertliev declared.

Vulkana Todorova, member of the BSDP Executive Bureau, took a stand on the agrarian reform.

The change in the agricultural sector cannot advance any further in the same way as before because it has already reached a certain stage of development, she declared.

The real process of distributing the land is obstructed by the following four problems: administrative, financial, technical, and personnel problems. The financial problem is the most crucial one, considering that the Ministry of Agriculture does not receive the necessary financial resources.

In connection with the recent publication of critical documents on the former Grand National Assembly, the BSDP is convinced that the members of the Enquiry Commission are biased.

Mr. Kornazhev declared that the evaluations of the commission clearly show its partiality. He added that an ordinary National Assembly is not entitled to carry on belated investigations on the work of the Grand National Assembly, although he did not deny certain inaccuracies in the protocols of the Grand National Assembly.

The news conference of the Bulgarian Democratic Center was called off.

No Resignations Among OSD Leaders

AU3003083493 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 25 Mar 93 p 3

[Report by Boryana Kostova: "Political differences Within Alliance for Social Democracy Prompt Leadership Resignation"]

[Text] Essentially there are no resignations among the leadership of the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD], Aleksandur Tomov said at the 24 March news conference. The declarations on leaving the OSD supreme organs, made by Tomov, Petya Shopova, and Svetoslav Milchev, will be reviewed at one of the future meetings of the Political Council. The final decision of the three would depend on what political line the OSD adopts as its official line.

Chavdar Kyuranov said that there were about (?20,000) OSD members throughout the country, but only 10-12 percent of the delegates to the forthcoming National Conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] are OSD representatives. According to Aleksandur Tomov the OSD was intentionally pushed toward the party's periphery. A real danger existed that it would gradually be turned into a marginal factor in an attempt to abate its influence among the Socialists. According to Petya Shopova, this would have rather unfavorable results for the BSP, because at present the OSD is a bridge between the party and a part of the political forces in the country.

The OSD deputies will seek cooperation contacts with the New Democracy Union faction in an attempt to stabilize the parliament. The OSD does not intend to form an independent faction outside the BSP National Assembly faction, or join other formations.

Dogan: Civil War if BSP Assumes Power

AU3003084593 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 22 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by Vulcho Milchev: "If Former Communists Take Power Bulgaria Faces Civil War, Ahmed Dogan Thinks"]

[Text] The three-day tour of a group of deputies of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] in Kurdzhali region began on 21 March in Kurdzhali in the half-empty hall of the local theater, where they met DPS members and supporters.

The cadres are our basic problem, [DPS Chairman] Ahmed Dogan said, and expressed the DPS's concern with the movement's weak intellectual potential. More than 9,000 experts with higher and further education have emigrated to Turkey since 1989, while the remaining Turkish intellectuals are not joining the DPS cause. Ahmed Dogan pointed out that when he was in Turkey, he obtained a commitment for 500 education stipends.

Last year Filip Dimitrov did not sign the convention on regional minorities, but now it will be signed. Yunal

Lyutfi pointed out. It would comprehensively resolve the cadres issue. He promised better reception of the Turkish language broadcasts, and said that [former Television Director] Asen Agov was appointed at the insistence of the DPS, but he used to implement dark blue [Union of Democratic Forces] political tasks.

Does the victor not have the right to drink a cup of coffee with the defeated one, Ahmed Dogan asked in reply to a question about his famous meeting with the former leader Todor Zhivkov. He added that the Turkish coffee he drank with Zhivkov was a symbol of victory over totalitarianism. Ahmed Dogan also said that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] did not have a chance of assuming power. However, if the BSP did assume power, this would be the first step toward a civil war, the DPS leader said.

The participants in the meeting discussed many questions related to emigration and uniting separated families. The DPS leaders did not denounce the restricting measures Turkey adopted in relation to the emigration of Bulgarian Turks.

Interview With VMRO-SMD Chairman

AU3003094693 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26 Mar 93 p 7

[Interview with Stoyan Boyadzhiev, "chairman of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Associations, by Margarita Petrinska; place and date not given: "It Is Difficult To Identify Friends in Politics"]

[Excerpts] [Petrinska] Mr. Boyadzhiev, today the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Associations [VMRO-SMD] includes both "blue" [Union of Democratic Forces] and "red" [Bulgarian Socialist Party] members. This is an historical fact, which has often been the reason for infighting, with even bloody cases of this. Could you add some contemporary nuances to this fact?

[Boyadzhiev] A sociological study of the political affiliations of the VMRO-SMD members established that only about 5 percent of the members are also members of another political party, with eight different parties cited. The remaining 95 percent are not party-affiliated. This circumstance eliminates the reason for infighting characteristic of the period of 50-60 years ago. In order to strengthen the non-party principle we amended Article 11 of our Charter, which now points out that people who are members of political parties cannot be elected to the VMRO-SMD leading organs.

[Petrinska] It is well known that there was a lot of excitement and ambition—to put it mildly—surrounding the issue of electing the VMRO-SMD chairman. Do you think that your candidacy was a "uniting" one?

[Boyadzhiev] Against the background of the voting result (more than 90 percent for my candidacy), I think that my candidacy was "normal," rather than "uniting." One should not ignore the fact that this post includes many functions, and that it does not involve any wages. [passage omitted]

[Petrinska] How do you assess Berov's attitude toward Macedonia's name?

[Boyadzhiev] There are two contradictory claims in our press with anything related to Professor Berov's position. According to the first claim, "Bulgaria would accept any name to which Macedonia and its people agree," (DUMA No. 59, 13-14 March 1993), and "we were the first to recognize Macedonia's independence, and will accept any name for the new state that its people propose." (OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK No. 14154 13 March 1993). However, we learned that at a news conference Mr. Berov said that "Macedonia's name must be determined by international arbitration." (KONTINENT No. 59 13-14 March 1993 "Insult for Macedonia") More precisely, he was reported as saying that "Bulgaria will accept a change in the name of the Republic of Macedonia if it is adopted by a UN resolution," and "International arbitration must determine the name of the Republic of Macedonia. This should also be accepted by Macedonia itself." (KONTINENT 13-14 March). With this statement the Bulgarian prime minister came close to the official Greek position, although not identical with it. This allows our diplomacy room for maneuver.

In this context I would like to remind you that resolving the issue of Macedonia's name through arbitration depends on the decision of Macedonia itself, and more specifically, on Macedonia's agreement to participate in an arbitration procedure, an absolute prerequisite of resolving the issue in this manner. This is a permanent practice in international law. At least this is what Gaetano Morelli, the great Italian expert on arbitration and a member of the Hague Court, taught me when I was his student.

Narcotics Service Announces Drug Abuse Figures

AU2703161793 Sofia BTA in English 1953 GMT 26 Mar 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—The president's spokesman denied the allegations made in today's DEMOKRATSIYA under the headline "Disarray at the President's Office," in which the paper says that President Zhelyu Zhelev met the ambassadors of the United States and of Great Britain in Sofia who criticized "the mass dismissals on political grounds and the idea to break with the international financial institutions." The publication is yet another insinuation aimed to discredit Bulgaria's relations with well-established democracies like the United States and Great Britain which this country has always respected and will respect, the president's spokesman denial goes.

The Academy of Agriculture held a general meeting presenting a report on its activity last year. Despite the financial problems, the scientific organizations did a lot of research and development work, the president of the academy said in his report. 670 scientific projects were developed, 70 percent of them were completed and 48 are ready for implementation. Twenty new varieties and hybrids were recognized as such in 1992. The Albena sunflower hybrid was designated a world standard and the Santa Fe was recognized as one of the best in the world.

At the moment there are 1,304 drug abusers on record in Bulgaria, of whom 558 are under observation as their drug dependence has not been absolutely proved, the chief of the National Narcotics Service with the Ministry of Health told BTA. A group of Bulgarian experts will be taking part in the session of the International Narcotics Control Board with the United Nations that opens on March 29 in Vienna. The Bulgarian delegation will be headed by Ivo Petrov, Bulgaria's permanent representative at the international organizations in Vienna. He will present a report on Bulgaria's drug control plan.

The warning effective actions of pig-breeders in the region of Ruse (northeastern Bulgaria) have been going on for two days now. Today the pig-breeders blocked the Ruse-Silistra highway for one hour and gathered for a rally raising their major demand: to provide food for the starving animals. They are pessimistic over the plans to import American maize because it can be expected to arrive in more than a month and in the meantime the animals will be starved to death. [passage omitted]

5,500 Bulgarians died from violent causes or got poisoned, representatives of the Interior Ministry, the Fire Service and the Military Medical Academy told a press conference today. [passage omitted]

The chief of the Organized Crime Control Unit with the regional police directorate in Gabrovo (central Bulgaria) reported that an "underground railroad" for smuggling people into Germany had been liquidated. A 28-year-old Bulgarian living in the Gabrovo region organized, against payment, travels to Germany, promising his clients visas and employment under legally made contracts. Buses carried his clients to the Czech-German border where their guide disappeared to be replaced by an officer of the German checkpoint who smuggled the migrants across the border under the cover of the night leaving them in Germany at the mercy of fate. The authorities of the Czech Republic and Germany were duly informed about the discovery of the channel.

The government will probably consider mayors' salaries at its next meeting, a press conference at the Council of Ministers was told today. The mayors who took part in the press conference threatened they would resign because their salaries are between 1,600 to 2,000 leva a month, given that the current exchange rate is 27 leva against the dollar. [passage omitted]

Soldiers Involved in Incident in Cambodia

AU3003085293 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 29 Mar 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—[Passage omitted] Three servicemen and an officer of the Bulgarian contingent of Blue Helmets in Cambodia yesterday countered an attack by 30 Khmer Rouges soldiers armed with mortars, antitank and automatic weapons 60 km to the southwest of Pnom Penh, several sources reported, quoting a spokesman for the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. The attack was aimed at a unit of the local plain-clothes police.

According to a report by the commander of the Bulgarian infantry batallion of Blue Helmets, an armed Khmer Rouges group attacked government forces in a sector controlled by Platoon 3, Company 1, at 2:40 hrs local time on March 28. An armoured personnel carrier and a car came under fire on their way to a polling station patrolled by the Bulgarian contingent. No servicemen were killed or injured. After the Khmer Rouges withdrew, two wounded Cambodians were driven to a hospital in Pnom Penh in the personnel carrier, the Bulgarian Defence Ministry reported.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) of the ethic Turks launched a campaign to raise money and collect clothes for Bosnian Muslims accommodated at the outskirts of Velingrad, southern Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

"In a discussion with representatives of Deutche Bank, I learnt Bulgaria was just two weeks away from signing an agreement to reschedule between 70 and 80 percent of the foreign debt," Pavel Shopov MP of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), who visited Germany with a parliamentary delegation last week, told a news conference in Plovdiv, southern Bulgaria. According to Mr. Shopov, the desire of some circles to foil the signing of such an arrangement led to the downfall of the Filip Dimitrov government. A settlement on the debt would have stabilized the government and the SDS and made the processes of replacing the system irreversible, he stressed. For this reason, Mr. Shopov thinks the ouster of the Filip Dimitrov government was an act of national betrayal.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] has always maintained the two major political forces in this country, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) are interrelated and a hardening of views in one triggers off the same developments in the other, BSDP leader Petur Dertliev told a news conference today. One could clearly see lately the existence of a firm Bolshevik nucleus in the BSP and a nostalgia for the Bolshevik past, according to Dr. Dertliev. The BSP is a party of rich ex-apparatchiks promoting a social demagogy called democratic socialism, the BSDP leader said. It had every chance to embark on a way to reconstruction, he said. "But, with its actions, it is leading back to a primitive capitalism, where the only difference with the 19th century is that capital is being plundered away, not accumulated," he said. [passage omitted]

"Answering numerous telephone calls in connection with the latest libel by former National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov that Bulgaria is being ruled by President Zhelev and former BSP Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, the president's Press Office declares the first meeting between Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Lukanov took place after November 10, 1989 when communist dictator Todor Zhivkov was ousted at the home of writer Nikolay Khaytov. The meeting was organized by present Vice President Blaga Dimitrova and her husband, SDS leader Yordan Vasilev. SDS activist Edvin Sugarev was also present. Mr. Savov was not present, as he joined the SDS in May 1990."

"As to 'ruling Bulgaria', it is known when and how Mr. Lukanov was removed from government," says the president's Press Office release, received at the BTA today.

The mayors of Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Burgas, Pleven and Stara Zagora today expressed concern over the growing tendency of centralization of power and the discrepancy between the responsibilities and powers of local government.

In an address to the National Assembly, the president and the prime minister, they accuse central government ministries and departments of seeking to expand their powers locally by drafting and passing by-laws inconsistent with the constitution, and the Local Self-Rule and Local Administration Act.

The mayors note the absence of a mechanism to maintain a dialogue between the central government and local self-rule bodies. They suggest that all draft statutory acts and by-laws be discussed with mayors and insist that amendments to the Local Self-Rule and Local Administration Act be discussed with them before entering parliament's debating chamber and no later than by the end of April.

At a meeting at the president's office today, Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev expressed President Yeltsin's gratitude to Bulgarian President Zhelev for his resolute support for Russian democracy, the course toward a final dismantling of totalitarianism, establishment of a democratic state ruled by law, a civil society, a market economy and freedom of enterprise, the Russian Embassy reports.

The Russian ambassador stressed this timely and principled support is in keeping with the friendly relations between Bulgaria and Russia.

Officer Denies Mistreatment of Serbs on Border

AU2803195093 Sofia BTA in English 1642 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Vidin, March 28 (BTA)—Capt. Nikolay Rachev of the Vrushka Chuka checkpoint on the border with Serbia denied a report of maltreatment of Serb citizens aired on national television. It is not true violators are fined 500 Marks—much more than the legal fine at the checkpoint, the officer said.

Customs officers at Vrushka Chuka and nearby Bregovo are exercising strict control, he said. Most often, Serbs are trying to smuggle out more that 10 liters of petrol or food, for which they are fined or turned back, Capt. Rachev said.

This weekend the two border checkpoints are working as usual. UN observers visiting border guard units and checkpoints last week and meeting with mayors of municipalities along the border, said on March 24 they saw no violations of the embargo and described the region as peaceful, border guards recall.

Podkrepa Protests on Behalf of Cattle Breeders

AU2903195793 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—In a declaration addressed to the National Assembly, the president, and the Council of Ministers the Podkrepa Labor Confederation states today that if the government and parliament do not take on their responsibility in solving the problems in stock-breeding by the end of this week, the confederation will take effective action in support of the just demands of the stock-breeders.

This document, adopted at a Confederative Council of one of Bulgaria's two major trade union amalgamations, points out that Bulgarian stock-breeding is agonizing, that poultry, pigs and cattle from elite herds are starving to death while land restitution is being purposefully delayed by the formerly communist Bulgarian Socialist Party in pursuance of political dividends.

The Podkrepa Labor Confederation insists on the immediate provision of all necessary funds for the spring campaign, for holding to account all who are responsible for the disastrous state of this branch and on the stopping of all export of grain and fodder and live animals.

The organizations of the "Informatics and Electronics" Trade Union Federation with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation came out with a protest declaration addressed to the National Assembly and to the president of the republic.

The declaration points to plummeting production and the emerging new wave of dismissals in Bulgaria's electronics and informatics industry and states that it is a crime to destroy an invaluable national capital of highly-qualified experts and sophisticated equipment worth billions of leva and U.S. dollars. This will lead to an escalation of social tensions of unpredictable consequences, the declaration reads.

The trade unionists insist that a clear strategy for the development of this branch be worked out within one month as well as on legislative securities, on paying the sums owed to the workers in this branch in 1991 and 1992 with the interests on them and on the elaboration of a programme for maximum employment. Otherwise we will be forced to resort to effective protest actions, it is pointed out in the declaration.

Klaus Briefs Parliament on Visit to Germany

AU2903145093 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)— Czech citizens harmed by the fascist regime at the time of Czechoslovakia's occupation by Germany in 1938-45, could be compensated financially, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said at a Czech Parliament session in Prague today.

The time was missed, during which Poland, for example, succeeded in doing something about the issue, Klaus stated. Currently, Germany has great problems with financing the territory of the former East Germany. We must consider that its situation is different than it was several years ago, Klaus added.

He would prefer material compensation to some fund, as it would be unclear who would operate the fund and as such a fund might be used to support other purposes than the goal intended, Klaus said. He quoted German Chancellor Helmut Kohl as saying that Klaus' ideas were good and they should be discussed over.

The Sudeten German problem plays a far more marginal role at meetings between the Czech and German representatives, than is being presented by the mass media, Klaus said. He considers it better that negotiations be held rather than having us shout at each other across the border mountains' forests. It is obvious that the government would be too high and a group border towns' mayors would present too low a level for such an issue to negotiate, Klaus said.

[Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech on 26 March on page 2 carries a 300-word "sak"-signed report on Vaclav Klaus' speech at the 25 March meeting of the Chamber of Deputies. According to the report, Klaus told Czech deputies that "during our meeting [in Bonn on 23 March] German Chancellor Helmut Kohl spoke about the years 1996-97 as the date when the Czech Republic should join the basic European structures."]

Voices Concern About Wages

AU2903145293 Prague CTK in English 1927 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)— The fact that wages in the Czech Republic rose by one-fourth during January and February against the same period last year is considered unacceptable by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus.

Speaking after a meeting of Czech Government economics ministers, Klaus said that it was necessary for the government to start immediately talks with representatives of both entrepreneurs and trade unions. He considers dangerous the fact that wages (in the Czech Republic) have increased far more than the prices since the beginning of 1993.

It is necessary to adopt a government resolution, which would enable to raise the wages of the employees of prosecutors' offices, Klaus said. He added, however, that they would not rise as sharply as those of judges, whose wages were increased by more than 100 percent as of January 1, 1993.

Havel Holds Talks With ODS Leadership

LD2903200893 Prague CTK in English 1844 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel and representatives of the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS) agreed at their meeting today that they should inform each other of their positions more frequently in order to prevent false rumours from appearing in the media, ODS spokeswoman Jana Petrova told journalists today.

The meeting between Havel and the ODS representatives was the first in a series of discussions between the president and leaders of political parties. Czech Premier and ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus did not attend because of work obligations.

The meeting focused on economic relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia and on the Czech-Slovak border issue, Petrova said. She characterised the meeting as a primarily informative preparation for Havel's meetings with Slovak President Michal Kovac, to be held in Prague Tuesday and Wednesday.

Petrova said that Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Zieleniec (ODS) would also participate in the meetings. He will speak primarily on technical issues, while the two presidents should discuss mainly general issues.

Havel also spoke with the ODS leadership about the Constitutional Court, about laws prepared by the parliament and about preparations for municipal and senatorial elections, Petrova said. They also discussed relations between coalition and opposition parties and relations within the coalition.

ODS Deputies' Club Chairman Jiri Honajzer said that he personally agreed with President Havel's view that the post-war transfer of Sudeten Germans out of the Czech border region was morally wrong. Neither he nor Petrova went into detail about the ODS's position on the matter, however. Both Honajzer and Petrova said that they had not yet had a chance to study the remarks Havel made on that subject today.

Havel said earlier today that he believed that the transfer of the Sudeten Germans was based on the principle of collective guilt, and was therefore morally wrong. He said that although the matter was closed from a legal standpoint, the citizens of the Czech Republic had the responsibility to admit the truth about it.

Coalition Reaches Partial Accord on Positions

AU2903151393 Prague CTK in English 1409 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)— Christian Democratic Party (KDS) Chairman Vaclav Benda is the candidate of the government coalition for the position of director of the Czech Statistical Office (CSU), the deputy chairmen of the government coalition parties agreed at today's meeting in Prague.

The Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) shares the opinion that information on Benda's professional qualifications prove he is able to work as the CSU's director, Jan Kasal, the KDU-CSL deputy chairman said at today's press conference.

But the government coalition parties—the KDU-CSL, the KDS, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA)—have not reached an agreement on the posts of director of the Security and Information Service (BIS) and of Army inspector-general.

According to ODS Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak, the ODA does not show interest in the position of Army inspector-general.

The ODA wants to be compensated for the division of government posts through which Jan Strasky (ODS) and Antonin Baudys (KDU-CSL) became ministers. But the ODA obviously does not consider the proposed position of Army inspector-general as adequate compensation, Cermak told CTK.

According to unofficial information from the Chamber of Deputies, the ODA wants to propose its own candidate for the post of the BIS director.

Cermak stressed that the ODS insisted on its candidate for director of the counterintelligence.

According to Cermak, the chairmen of the government coalition parties are to meet on Friday to negotiate the posts of Army inspector-general and BIS director.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 March on page 2 carries the following CTK report on current CSU Chairman Eduard Soucek's reaction to the decision to replace him with Vaclav Benda: "Current CSU Chairman Eduard Soucek sees in the proposed appointment of Vaclav Benda to the post of CSU chairman a danger in that the government might be interested in a utilitarian interpretation of statistical data. 'Though data falsification is out of the question, the utilitarian interpretation of data is not,' he added. 'I am disappointed that statistics has become a part of political wheeling and dealing. All civilized states painstakingly guard the independence of statistical offices. In the Czech Republic, apparently, party secretariats do not rack their brains over this,' Soucek said."]

Bankruptcy Law Grants 'Grace Period' to Debtors

AU2903144293 Prague CTK in English 1905 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)— The Czech Parliament adopted a law on bankruptcies today which incorporates a grace period for debtors to reorganize their finances and settle their debts out of court, before formal bankruptcy proceedings are filed.

State enterprises will thus have three months in which to settle their debts before bankruptcy can be initiated. Farms will be protected from creditors during the sowing and harvesting season, from April 1 to September 30, while private farmers will be protected against bankruptcy until December 31, 1994.

During the period when debtors are protected from creditors, they will be required to do their utmost to reorganize their finances and inform their creditors about the specific steps they are taking. If debtors and creditors cannot come to agreement during this period, the matter will go to the courts after the protection period has elapsed.

The law also stipulates that bankruptcy proceedings cannot be initiated against a debtor who had 50 percent or more of his shares offered in the government's coupon privatization program launched at the beginning of 1992. Exceptions can only be made by intervention from the government.

The law takes effect on the day it is officially announced.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 26 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word correspondents' report on the 25 March meeting of the Chamber of Deputies. The HOSPODARSKE NOVINY report notes that the amended law on bankruptcies will take effect on 22 April.]

Report Indicates Decrease in Production, Sales

AU2903162593 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Mar 93 p 3

[Czech Statistical Office report: "A Lower Level Than Last Year"]

[Text] The Czech Statistical Office (CSU) has published a report on the results of development in selected sectors of the national economy in January 1993, which indicates that all these sectors started the new year on a lower level than last year.

Industry

The January results are preliminary, since some large organizations have not released all their data as yet. Industrial output in the entire Czech Republic (including the results of organizations with less than 25 employees, and registered and non-registered entrepreneurs in the register of companies) was 3.6 percent lower than in January 1992.

The volume of production in organizations with 25 and more employees was 4.7 percent lower than in January 1992. However, this January, the number of working days fell. Sales declined faster, by 10 percent more than January 1992. The number of employees was 7.6 percent less than January 1992, and this means that labor productivity rose by 3.2 percent. The average salary in January was 20 percent higher than last year.

Building Industry

Construction output (including organizations with less than 25 employees, and registered and non-registered entrepreneurs in the register of companies) was almost 20 percent lower than in January 1992. The volume of construction works delivered according to contracting agreements declined by 26.6 percent in enterprises with 25 or more employees, totalling 3,310 million korunas. The best results were achieved in enterprises with fewer than 100 employees. In January, the number of employees in enterprises with 25 or more employees declined by 3.3 percent compared with last year. Labor productivity declined by 24.1 percent, and the average salary rose by 27.2 percent to Kc5,663.

Transportation

In January, public-road transportation companies—including the estimate for private transportation companies—transported 4.36 million tonnes, that is, 37.2 percent less than in January 1992. Along with the overall decline in output in important sectors, the decline in trade with the Slovak Republic also had an impact on the decline in transportation. The average length of transportation increased, and output in tonnes per kilometer declined by only 19.2 percent compared with January 1992. The number of transported people, too, declined considerably owing to higher fares.

Development in railway transportation was more favorable compared with road freight. Compared with January 1992, the volume of freight declined by only 3.6 percent. In the same period, the volume of river freight declined by 30 percent, and output by 43.6 percent.

Agriculture

The number of farm animals in the principal groups had not changed by the end of January—compared with the previous month—although the number of pigs increased slightly. Compared with the end of January 1992, the number of cattle declined by 17.7 percent, pigs by 6.2 percent, and poultry by 18.1 percent. The sale of animals for slaughter declined by 8,100 tonnes compared with the same period last year, that is, by 8.8 percent.

Compared with January last year, the sales of milk declined slightly, and sales of eggs increased. The average milk yield per cow remained at the level of the previous year, while the average egg yield per hen declined.

Domestic Trade

According to the Czech Statistical Office estimate, retail trade was 15.1 percent higher at current prices in January 1993 compared with January 1992. The physical volume in retail trade declined by 3.7 percent. Compared with January last year, the number of enterprises with 25 or more employees, and registered and non-registered entrepreneurs in the company register declined. In the retail trade of enterprises with more than 25 employees, the volume of non-food products increased while that of food and beverages declined.

Reporters Warned About Organized Crime Gangs

AU2903183693 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 25 Mar 93 p 3

["hop"-signed report: "Police Are Warning Curious Journalists"]

[Text] Prague—On our territory, various international organizations are operating—from Italy, China, Vietnam, Arab countries, and countries of the former Soviet Union. They deal in drug smuggling, stolen cars, and the white slave trade. This is what was said at a news conference with representatives of the Central Criminal Police yesterday.

According to Lieutenant Colonel Jan Zatorsky, deputy police president, the public should not be informed about the movement of criminal gangs on our territory, since this could interfere with police investigations. One of the reporters—who dealt with the movement of the Italian Mafia in the Czech Republic in a recent article—was told: "If journalists are going to deal permanently with the analysis of individual gangs, they may suffer what regularly happens to Italian reporters, for example." Jan Subert, press spokesman for the Interior Ministry, then explained that this danger to journalists does not come from the police, but from criminal gangs who can punish the inquisitive reporter.

The police also said that articles on organized crime should be subject to consultation with the relevant police officials. According to representatives of the criminal division of the police, published information on the Italian Mafia was improper and caused one thing: The Mafia structures scrapped their old ties and created new ones.

The police were not able to say yesterday whether they had known about the activities of the Italian Mafia.

According to J. Zantorsky, the Czech Republic is not plagued by organized crime as much as other countries are, which is due, among other things, to the fact that we succeeded in removing the Soviet troops in time. "The eastern part of Germany and Poland are having this problem today. The remnants of the Soviet Army are working hand in hand with the Italian Mafia," J. Zatorsky said yesterday.

When asked by LIDOVE NOVINY whether the police know about Romany gangs in eastern Bohemia, Josef Doucha, chief of the Department of Organized Crime at the Center of Criminal Police, said that Romany gangs are a problem not only in Hradec Kralove, but also in northern Bohemia. According to him, gangs—and not only Romany gangs—have so much money that they can bribe politicians, policemen, and even justice officials.

Trust in Government, Parliament Viewed

AU2903150993 Prague CTK in English 1159 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)— The citizens' trust in the Czech Government shows, in spite of a slight decline, a long-term stability but trust in the Czech Parliament is incessantly decreasing, a mid-March poll by the Institute for Public Opinion Research (IVVM), has revealed.

In March 58 percent of the 722 people questioned trusted the government, while 37 did not. The Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament was trusted only by 34 percent, mistrusted by 59 percent.

Trust in the Czech Parliament has sunk by 12 percent since February.

The biggest trust, 72 percent, was recorded by the Czech president. He was mistrusted by 25 percent.

The IVVM said that the more positive evaluation of the government at the beginning of the year over the previous year's end had appeared also in 1991 and 1992, and only the coming months would show whether people were really more satisfied.

The IVVM workers say that this year's beginning was also more optimistic. The March data for the government are less positive than those in February, but the trust is still greater than in December.

Trust in government and parliament (in percent)

	December		February		March	
	trust	mistrust	trust	mistrust	trust	mistrust
government	52	38	64	33	58	37
chamber of deputies	47	41	46	49	34	59

Surveys Document Changes in Newspaper Popularity

AU2903143493 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 25 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by Michal Klima: "This Year Will Bring More Changes in the Newspaper Market"]

[Excerpts] The AISA [Association for Independent Social Analysis] Media agency is increasingly establishing itself as the most respected institution evaluating the popularity of newspapers, journals, and television and radio broadcasts and the impact of advertising. This year it has introduced continual monitoring, the results of which will be published monthly.

AISA Media researchers monitor the readership of newspapers on two basic levels. Regular readership, ascertained by means of questions about which newspapers the respondents read the day before, and occasional readership, ascertained by means of questions about newspapers read during the preceding week. By comparing the first results for this year with the results of September 1992 we are able to note certain changes in the popularity of the daily press. Of the main dailies, five have registered a decline in the number of both regular and occasional readers. These are RUDE PRAVO, PRACE, SVOBODNE SLOVO, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, and ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY. [passage omitted]

HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, LIDOVE NOVINY, MLADA FRONTA DNES, CESKY DENIK, and BLESK, on the other hand, have registered an increase in the number of people who read them at least once a week. In terms of regular readership, these dailies have not registered any major change since September 1992, with the exception of BLESK, the number of whose readers is steadily growing.

Interesting shifts have occurred in the ranking of newspapers in terms of the number of people reading them at least once a week. There has been no change in the top four places (BLESK, MLADA FRONTA DNES, RUDE PRAVO, PRACE), although the number of readers of the first two has increased while the number of readers of the latter two has declined. LIDOVE NOVINY ranks fifth (trailing 0.2 percent behind the fourth place), SPORT sixth, and HOSPODARSKE NOVINY seventh. They are followed by ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, SPIGL, EXPRES, SVOBODNE SLOVO, CESKY DENIK, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, HALO NOVINY, and TELEGRAF.

There is a remarkable difference between the number of readers of a newspaper and the newspaper's print run. For example, LIDOVE NOVINY has more readers than HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in both categories being monitored, although HOSPODARSKE NOVINY has a bigger circulation. There are also great differences between individual regions. The most widely read national newspapers in Prague are: 1. BLESK, 2. MLADA FRONTA DNES, 3. LIDOVE NOVINY, 4. EXPRES, 5. CESKY DENIK, 6. RUDE PRAVO, 7. HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 8. SVOBODNE SLOVO,

9. PRACE, 10. LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, 11. SPORT, 12. TELEGRAF, 13. ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, 14. SPIGL.

The success of BLESK is impossible to overlook. One-half of the Czech nation buys the paper at least once a week. Even one-fifth of university graduates read it daily. It is apparent that BLESK is successfully pushing SPIGL [a rival tabloid] out of the market, and it seems to be depriving even RUDE PRAVO of readers. The decline of SVOBODNE SLOVO and LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, two newspapers that were popular prior to November 1989, continues. Future developments will show whether the new publisher of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE manages to reverse this trend. Despite frequent changes of publishers, TELEGRAF evidently has not caught on with readers. It seems that this year will bring more changes in the market for the daily press.

[Attached to the above article is a chart indicating the ranking of national daily newspapers in terms of the number of occasional readers in September 1992 and January 1993. Although the chart does not provide any exact figures, it reveals that BLESK was read by over 4 million Czech citizens at least once a week in January 1993, MLADA FRONTA DNES by over 3 million citizens, RUDE PRAVO by over 1 million citizens, PRACE, LIDOVE NOVINY, SPORT, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, SPIGL, EXPRES, and SVOBODNE SLOVO by over 1 million readers each, while CESKY DENIK, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, HALO NOVINY, and TELEGRAF each had fewer than 1 million occasional readers.]

Meciar 'Very Sad' About Klaus Letter on Property

AU3003062993 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Mar 93 pp 1, 16

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Petra Prochazkova, LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent in Moscow; in Moscow on 25 March: "Vladimir Meciar Tells LIDOVE NOVINY: I Am Sad...."]

[Excerpts] Moscow— "It is true that I have received a letter from Mr. Klaus. It was faxed to me here in Moscow. It makes me very sad," [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar told LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday when asked whether the Slovak side intended to start property settlement talks with the Czech Republic in the foreseeable future. "The Czech side has sent us [draft] agreements, about which we have serious reservations. They concern claims by the Czech side that do not belong there because they originated after 1 January [1993]. We, too, have our claims against the Czech Republic, territorial claims, for example. These claims greatly exceed the claims of the Czech side, though the Czech Republic refuses to negotiate on them."

In the interview for LIDOVE NOVINY, Vladimir Meciar also said that Slovakia would talk "at any time" about the "entire package" of property-related issues. "What I do not like at all, however, is when the rules are dictated to us and when citizens, both Slovak and Czech, become hostage to their own private property and must wait until politicians come to an agreement."

Asked whether Slovakia would continue to coordinate its course of action with the Czech Republic in seeking to recover Russia's debts owed to the former CSFR, Vladimir Meciar said, among other things: "On the basis of our experience with the Czech Republic, which has, for instance, been receiving gas from us for three months and has been collecting transit fees from West European states all this time without giving us a single cent, we are not going to proceed jointly in the matter of Russian debts. Slovakia is capable of coming to an agreement with Russia on the debt issue in a short time." [passage omitted]

I have invited President Yeltsin to Slovakia and he has accepted the invitation, Vladimir Meciar declared at a news conference [after his meeting with Yeltsin]. According to Meciar, Yeltsin offered himself as a sacrificial lamb in the struggle for democracy, "which I also tried once and it did not work out. I then had to wait a year for corrective action."

Kovac Discusses Relations With Czech Republic

LD2903201493 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 29 (CTK)—In an interview for CTK, Slovak President Michal Kovac today said that relations with the Czech Republic are a foreign policy priority for Slovakia.

He is convinced that his official visit to the Czech Republic on Tuesday and Wednesday will help speed up settlement of pending issues between the two countries, especially former federal property division.

I will propose to sign the agreement as it was initialled and to start talks on other questions at issue without delay. Slovakia is ready for further talks and it will follow an accommodating policy on bilateral issues, Kovac said.

He thinks the property division agreement could have been signed during Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus's first visit to Slovakia on February 22, but new suggestions were made which impaired the signing.

He said he was not afraid that the fate of the currency union, whose validity was terminated with the currency split on February 8, would affect other Czech-Slovak agreements as well. This, of course, requires goodwill on both sides, he added.

Kovac allowed for the necessity of establishing a normal border regime between the Czech and Slovak Republics. If an agreement on a border regime is signed by Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Hungary, Austria, Ukraine and eventually Germany, it will not be necessary to sign a special agreement with our Czech neighbour, he said.

Before the division of Czechoslovakia as of January 1, 1993, a freer movement of people across the Czech-Slovak border was envisaged. But with the threat of illegal migration, the Czechs have been pressing for the establishment of a normal border between the two republics.

Kovac thinks that the Czech Republic should remain in the Visegrad group, which is also comprised of Hungary and Poland. He was apparently referring to statements by Klaus and other Czech politicians in which they were opposed to the institutionalisation of the grouping.

He said that both the Czech and Slovak Republics should treat the rights of the other country's ethnic minorities in accordance with the charter of fundamental rights and freedoms.

I do not doubt that Slovaks, citizens of the Czech Republic, will meet with full understanding for their rights, he stressed.

One possible method of dealing with the problem is the conclusion of an inter-state agreement, Kovac said.

Agreements between non-governmental organisations could help the Slovaks living in the Czech Republic. He mentioned Matica Slovenska, a cultural organisation founded in Slovakia in 1863. It could cooperate with Slovak organisations in the Czech Republic, Kovac said.

He stressed that Slovakia will treat ethnic Czechs just as other minorities.

Andrejcak on NATO Defense Ministers Meeting

LD3003005393 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Interview with Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak by correspondent Hana Hanouskova in Bratislava on 29 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] The defense ministers of NATO countries, East Europe, and the former Soviet Union held talks in Brussels today on the possibilities of an international operation in Bosnia which is being considered, aimed at pushing through a peace agreement. [passage omitted]

[Hanouskova] We learned from a press agency report that there were some disagreements between you and the Czech defense minister at the talks. What did these concern?

[Andrejcak] I would not call them disagreements. We arrived there with different concepts. The most important thing, however, is that we agreed on the heart of the matter: The group of four exists and will cooperate. All four of us will apply to accredit our military attaches to NATO in order to be in direct contact. We did not reach a consensus on the form how to apply to NATO. Therefore this was not a conflict but in substance a difference of views.

[Hanouskova] Speaking about the more distant future, if we have a chance to establish closer cooperation with NATO, what would be the possibility of our troops joining the peace corps involved in UN actions? [passage omitted]

[Andrejcak] We really cannot afford to send a combat unit there because our combat unit would be unable to communicate with them, would not be able to use communication means to talk to them. Therefore if the National Council of the Slovak Republic agrees with our participation in such an action, I will suggest the sending of, for instance, a medical unit, a field surgery hospital, or something similar. This means a very modest participation.

[Hanouskova] Did the fact that France did not take part influence the talks to any great extent, because, as we know, France has the largest number of forces in the abovementioned UN actions in Bosnia?

[Andrejcak] You are the first to ask me this. But indeed, it was stated in the first address that we wanted France to be there with us. Otherwise there was tactful silence as far as France is concerned.

[Hanouskova] You also talked, for example, personally, with Minister Grachev who, among other things was to provide information in Brussels about the situation in Russia.

[Andrejcak] Minister Grachev is one of those that I talked with, but essentially, he talked very briefly about it. He was otherwise interested in the question of Russia's future participation, but I had a conversation with him as to how to conclude a treaty because we have Russian technology of Soviet origin. One has to buy various spare parts, ask for various service commissions, and we don't have a treaty because the Soviet Union ceased to exist and so has Czechoslovakia, in other words a treaty must be concluded. He surprised me by saying that they have a treaty ready. So I will issue an instruction for somebody from the leadership of the Army, within a short period of time, after our proposal is approved, to travel out and make preliminary talks and prepare the signing.

German Foreign Minister Comments on Cooperation

AU2903161293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Statement given by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to NARODNA OBRODA; place and date not given: "Slovakia Can Count on Germany"]

[Text] My wish—rather high on the list of priorities—has been to visit the independent Slovak Republic as soon as possible. Germany wants to continue building the bilateral relations that were successfully developing between the FRG and the CSFR (and its successor states) after 1989. The Treaty on Good Neighborly Relations and Friendly Cooperation of 27 February 1992 will remain the basis for our relationship. We intend to put it into practice now.

German-Slovak relations have a long history. In the past there was, in addition to times of productive cooperation, the arduous epoch of World War II. This period of history, and its consequences immediately after the war, still demand that we, on both sides, come to terms with them. The Goethe Institute, which I have had the opportunity to open during my visit in Bratislava, is to help further the good traditions of the German-Slovak relationship, mutual dialogue, and exchange.

The Germans living in Slovakia are another example of the historical ties between our countries. The objective of the Federal Government is—together with the Slovak Government—to contribute to the preservation of the cultural identity of the German minority. It deserves commendation that the Slovak Government shares this interest. The Carpathian Germans are thoroughly integrated here and their rapport with the state is good.

A contributory factor to the close bond between our countries is also an extensive economic relationship. Next to Austria, Germany is the largest Western investor in the Slovak Republic. If other important framework conditions are satisfied, even more investment will flow into Slovakia. Within our possibilities, we will do everything to help you reach this objective.

As do Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic, Slovakia wants to join the EC. It has our support.

First of all, economic and legal conditions for entry must be created. In this respect, cooperation among the countries in the Visegrad [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] group would seem to be beneficial. It is not intended to substitute for full membership in the EC. Countries with a comparable starting position can, however, support and help one another during their membership preparation. The recently established free-trade zone of the Visegrad-member states is an encouraging sign of the pragmatic cooperation of the four countries.

Slovakia is a country in the heart of Europe. The future of our continent can be formed only in the spirit of good neighborliness and cooperation. In its attempt to acquire a place in an integrated Europe and its institutions, Slovakia can count on Germany.

Parliament Approves Pay Hike for Itself

AU2903145693 Prague CTK in English 2140 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 25 (CTK)— The Slovak parliament voted itself a pay raise today that will give deputies a monthly salary three times that of an average skilled industrial worker.

Each deputy's salary was set at 14,700 Slovak crowns a month (about 500 USD). The president's salary was set at 68,800 Slovak crowns a month (about 2,000 USD). The head of state, after leaving office, will continue to receive 30,000 crowns a month. Cabinet members will receive 22,050 crowns a month (about 810 USD).

Votes To Raise Pensions

AU3003082993 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 25 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Alena Melicharkova, Lenka Tokarova: "Three Types of Increases; The National Council of the Slovak Republic Discussed Increase of Pensions"]

[Excerpts] The 17th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] continued yesterday with a debate on the bill on measures in the sphere of industrial ownership. The bill, which was passed with comments, sets forth regulations concerning legislation on patents, licenses, and trademarks and is associated, above all, with the transfer of jurisdiction from federal bodies to Slovak Republic bodies.

After a brief debate, the deputies also approved an amendment to the law on the jurisdiction of communities in renting out commercial premises. The amendment was necessitated by the obligation of the Slovak Republic to secure premises for the establishment of representative missions for states that have established diplomatic relations with the Slovak Republic. The amendment, which was passed with comments, makes it possible to order a legal entity owning or administering a state building to vacate this building for the needs of representative missions. [passage omitted]

Probably the most anxiously awaited item on the agenda of yesterday's NRSR meeting was the bill on the increase of pensions in 1993. [passage omitted] In the evening the NRSR approved the government-sponsored bill on the increase of pensions in 1993.

1. Pensions awarded prior to 1 March 1993 are being increased with effect from 28 February by 3 percent of the monthly sum to which the citizen had a claim on the day of the increase, plus 270 Slovak korunas [Sk] a month. Orphans' pensions awarded prior to 1 March 1993 are being increased by Sk50 a month.

2. Pensions awarded between 1 March and 31 December 1993 will be increased with effect from the day they are awarded by 20 percent of the sum to which the citizen had a claim on the day the pension was awarded. Orphans' pensions awarded between 1 March and 31 December 1993 are being increased by Sk50 a month.

3. Pensions awarded between 1 January and 28 February 1993 are being increased by Sk290 a month from the day they were awarded, with payments due after 28 February being increased according to point 1.

The NRSR meeting continues today.

Issues Resolution on Gabcikovo

AU2903194593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Mar 93 p 6

["Resolution of the National Council of the Slovak Republic on the G-N Hydroelectric Project" adopted on 24 March]

[Text] On 24 February 1993, the Hungarian Parliament issued a resolution addressed to the legislative bodies of UN-member states that expediently distorts the essence of the problems and wrongly accuses the Slovak Republic of violating the territorial integrity of the Republic of Hungary and numerous international treaties.

Since this resolution damages the international position of the Slovak Republic, the National Council of the Slovak Republic considers it its duty to acquaint the parliaments of the UN-member states and the world public with the following facts.

1. The primary cause for the emergence of all problems is that in 1989, three months after an agreement, per the suggestion of the Hungarian Government, had been signed to accelerate construction—not only at the Gabcikovo plant but particularly on the Nagymaros plant—the Hungarian side first halted work on the project and soon thereafter unilaterally abrogated the legally concluded treaty of 16 September 1977 (registered and published in the UN Treaty Series, Vol. 1109, 1, 17134). Acceptance of the conduct of the Hungarian side thus far could create a precedent for unilateral abrogation of any international treaty.

2. The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric system has been designed and implemented jointly with the Republic of Hungary particularly to prevent flooding of the land, improve navigation on the Danube, improve the water system in wetland-forest ecological systems, increase the dynamic underground drinking water reserves, and obtain water for field irrigation. The power generated was to pay for the construction and complete operation of the project. The headwater-canal version was chosen at the request of the Hungarian side to protect the region from flood disasters like those Szigetkotz experienced in 1954 and Zitny Ostrov [Rye Island] in 1965, when large tracts of land, housing, communications, and crops were destroyed.

3. At the time Hungary halted the Nagymaros plant construction and started its relentless propaganda against the hydroelectric system, the Gabcikovo plant was 85 percent finished, and restoration to the original state impossible. The only feasible solution—also from the point of view of preventing environmental damage to the region—was the implementation of a temporary substitute plan that was adopted by a decision of the CSFR Government and approved by the Federal Assembly. This solution is a consequence of the unilateral abrogation of the treaty, and the Czechoslovak side did not resort to it before exhausting all possibilities of an agreement on a joint approach.

4. The substitute solution, in accordance with Article 18 of the 1977 Treaty, only moves the navigation course to the headwater canal, and the unchanged state border remains in the old Danube bed as per Article 22 of the said treaty, i.e., according to the 1925 and 1948 documentation on demarcation of the border. Therefore, we refute the claims of the Hungarian Parliament that the border and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Hungary has been violated by the Slovak Republic.

5. The Slovak Republic is vitally interested in an effective protection of the joint wealth of the underground water. All international commissions, expert studies, and monitoring of the regime and quality of the underground water to date negate the 1989 claims of the danger of an environmental disaster that Hungary used to justify the abrogation of the treaty.

6. The current problems with the Danube bed are a direct consequence of the negative attitude of the Republic of Hungary to the joint implementation of the agreed-upon technical measures recommended, among others, by the EC expert commission in its report of November 1992. By assuming this stand, the Hungarian party consciously creates prerequisites for the emergence of environmental damage to the Danube branch system and the wetland forests, which is to provide public support for their point of view.

7. The power generated alone facilitates the financing of the technical measures for the environmental modifications and assurance of the navigation on the Rhine-Main-Danube waterway. Any limitation imposed on the electric power production without any compensation for the abrogation of the treaty by the Republic of Hungary damages the Slovak economy. Therefore, we greatly appreciate the recommendation made by the European Parliament to the European Commission that it investigate the possibilities of financial assistance to Slovakia to compensate for the reduced power production, which the government will use in the discussion of the Hungarian complaint.

8. It is in the interest of the Slovak Republic to seek a solution to this situation in the spirit of the EC recommendations asking both sides to be judicious in their approach. On the basis of both matter-of-fact environmental and technical arguments, it is willing to settle the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros problem jointly with Hungarian specialists and foreign experts in a manner acceptable to both sides. We propose that the monitoring data be verified in the presence of independent experts on the territory of both the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary, and that the conceivable additional measures are implemented jointly as necessary on the basis of the findings.

9. The National Council of the Slovak Republic expects similar steps also on the part of the Hungarian Parliament as the flexibility expected by the European Parliament from the Slovak side is being blocked by its unequivocally negative attitude toward the project. The National Council would welcome it if the Hungarian parliament withdrew its resolution of 16 April 1991, which authorizes the Republic of Hungary's government to discuss only the revocation of the treaty and the restoration to the original state, which is technically impossible.

10. The National Council of the Slovak Republic expresses its conviction that with mutual understanding and willingness to solve actual problems, the Gabcikovo issue will cease to engage international institutions and cease to be a source of tension in this region. We began this project together with the Republic of Hungary and we should finish it together. The National Council of the Slovak Republic established a special parliamentary commission for the coordination of its approach toward the Republic of Hungary as early as November 1992. It would welcome the organization of a similar commission in the Hungarian Parliament, and is ready to establish direct ties with such a commission.

SNS Supports Prosecutor General Bacho

AU2903150593 Prague CTK in English 1342 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 25 (CTK)— Pressure exerted on the Slovak Prosecutor General Vojtech Bacho is being created artificially, Ludovit Cernak, chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS), told journalists today.

Cernak, who recently resigned as Slovak economics minister, was referring to allegations that Bacho is to

leave his post this week due to his controversies with Slovak parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic.

If the parliament discusses whether or not Bacho remains in office, the SNS is ready to back the prosecutor general, Cernak said. I am talking about it because of unconfirmed information I have that a career military man could become Slovak prosecutor general, Cernak said. I think that with career military men as the defense and interior ministers, it would be too much to put a career military man in the post of prosecutor general as well, Cernak said.

He said the SNS also opposes the proposed appointment of Ivan Lexa, Slovak Government Office director, as chief of the Slovak Information (intelligence) Service because it would be too many good things for the (ruling) Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Cernak said the post should be filled by a person whose behavior would guarantee the independence of the information service from HZDS Chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar.

Cernak said the SNS intends to ask the Slovak Television to make it possible for chairmen of other political parties, not solely the HZDS, to appear regularly. We would also welcome it if regular ten- minute shots designated weekly for the premier are done in the manner of a dialogue with a moderator so that the latter is able to ask the premier questions, Cernak said.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 26 March on page 3 carries the following "kw"-signed report on the SNS briefing: "According to some reports, Privatization Minister Dolgos and Agriculture Minister Baco are to become the next Slovak Government members to leave the cabinet, after Knazko and Cernak. Asked to comment on these reports, SNS Chairman and ex-minister of economy Ludovit Cernak said yesterday that during government votes Dolgos and Baco had always demonstrated that they think on their own. 'Should they have any problems, it would be proof that Meciar tolerates in his cabinet only people who raise their hands when required,' Cernak said."]

Chairman of SIS Controlling Body Elected

AU2903144493 Prague CTK in English 2139 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 26 (CTK)—Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic (parliament), was elected today chairman of a special parliamentary body to control the activity of the Slovak Information Service (SIS).

Other members of the control body include former Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner (Christian Democratic Party), Jan Slota (Slovak National Party), Eduard Barany (Party of the Democratic Left) and Tibor Kuzbert (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia).

The law on the SIS was passed by the Slovak parliament on January 21, 1993.

Borders With Poland, Ukraine, Hungary Tightened

LD2903213693 Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava, March 29—Slovakia's Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar announced on Monday [29 March] that the Slovak authorities plan to tighten control of Slovakia's borders with Poland, Ukraine and Hungary. According to the Bratislava press, the number of border guards will be increased 3- or 4-fold.

The move is designed to avert the Czech decision to close its border with Slovakia which according to the Czech Government is necessary to halt illegal immigration from the east. The Czech Government made its signature of the readmission agreement with Germany conditional on the closing of the Czech-Slovak border.

Positive Aspects of Gabcikovo Plant Cited

AU2603144993 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 24 (CTK)—Slovakia needs some eight billion Slovak crowns (approximately 260 million USD) to build its water management network, Julius Binder, director of the Vodohospodarske Stavby water management firm, told journalists today.

Binder, whose firm is responsible for the completion of the controversial Gabcikovo hydroelectric plant on the Danube, said in case foreign monetary institutions are ready to finance the construction of Slovakia's water management network profits from Gabcikovo could be invested in other areas, for example in social security.

Binder, who visited the United States and Canada recently, said many foreign firms and banks took interest in the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. He voiced the view that Slovakia should expand information on Gabcikovo so that foreign expert circles are able to assess the importance of the project.

Asked how the damming of the Danube River in the autumn of 1992 has affected the surrounding environment, Binder said the underground water level has risen and the situation will further improve once the plant is put into full operation.

[Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 25 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 900-word Vladimir Duduc report on the above news conference. According to the report, Julius Binder said that "the results of the five months of operation of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project are very favorable. The quality and the level of underground water are improving and the horrifying predictions of an ecological catastrophe have not been confirmed. Quite the contrary, they have been refuted." Binder is reported to have said that, after the

damming of the Danube near Cunovo, reservoirs of underground water have "substantially increased," including "on the Hungarian side." The "best indicator" of the improving quality of water in the area, according to Binder, is that "birds have begun to nest" along the channel leading to Gabcikovo. Binder also claimed that the Lesser Danube, a Danube branch that "had for more than 20 years been a sewer for Bratislava sewage and waste from the Slovnaft refinery" has again become a "stream that is teeming with life."]

Questions Raised Regarding Consulate Bugging

AU2903081493 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 25 Mar 93 p 3

[Ladislav Pittner Interpellation in the National Council]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am taking the liberty of interpellating the Slovak Republic's Prosecutor General, Dr. Bacho, in connection with the results of the investigation into the bugging of the U.S. Consulate General in Bratislava. According to published information, 15 microphones that had been placed in the U.S. Consulate General building were discovered and rendered non-functional at the beginning of 1990, at the latest. It was also published that the former State Security had mounted this equipment gradually. In expert circles, it is a well-known fact that the State Security was highly professional in that activity.

In my opinion, the results of the investigation do not explain unequivocally the announcement of the American side regarding the activation of the equipment in the U.S. Consulate General building.

In view of the said professionalism of the State Security in installing bugging devices—which also applies to the gradual installation of these devices in the said building—the report on the results of the investigation does not remark on whether the State Security files were available to the investigators—files that were always established by the State Security in case of such installations—and whether the number of microphones discovered is in line with the number given in the said State Security files. Moreover, the report does not mention whether the American side cooperated with our investigative organs, and what evidence the American side presented regarding the said reactivation.

If the investigation provides unequivocal answers to these questions, it would be desirable—in view of the extreme publicity of the entire case—for the public to also be informed about the viewpoint of the U.S. side on the results that our investigation organs present.

Hungarians To Sue Over 'Fifth Column' Commentary

AU3003062793 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Mar 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: Let the Court Decide"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH], together with its coalition partner, the Coexistence Movement, intends to sue Michal Berko for his statement made in a domestic political commentary broadcast on the Stanica Slovensko 1 network at 1230 on 13 March 1993. This was announced by MKDH Chairman Vojtech Bugar at yesterday's MKDH briefing. In that commentary, which dealt with National Council of the Slovak Republic Chairman Ivan Gasparovic's letter to the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, Michal Berko drew attention to Hungarian blackmail on the Gabcikovo question. In this context, he said: "This demonstrates that pressure on Slovakia is growing in strength and that Hungarian deputies in the Slovak Parliament are involved in inciting it. If something really is a test for the young Slovak state and its democracy, it is the behavior of these people. Some of them meet the criteria to be called the fifth column in the spirit of the followers of [Konrad] Henlein [leader of the Sudeten German Party in the Czech Republic in the 30's, which sought the annexation of the Sudetenland to Germany] at the time of Hitler's efforts to break up Czechoslovakia." Vojtech Bugar also announced that all the Hungarian political parties [in Slovakia] would turn to the Slovak Constitutional Court and ask it to ascertain whether the language law and its practical implementation are in harmony with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and international documents.

Minister On Significance of EFTA Agreement

LD3003100793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpts] In Geneva yesterday Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, signed the multilateral agreement between Hungary and the European Free Trade Aassociation [EFTA] member countries. Zoltan Farkas talked to him about this in Geneva:

[Begin recording] [Farkas] What can this bring for Hungary? How much market do we gain?

[Kadar] The EFTA countries presently take 15 percent of Hungarian exports. The agreement which we have now signed will, after it comes into effect, abolish duties and quotas for 85 percent of industrial products.

[Farkas] Were these duties high?

[Kadar] The price disadvantage was, in the case of Austria, 10 percent, in the case of Finland 8 percent, Sweden around 6 percent, in the case of Switzerland very little—around 2.5 percent. But here of course the market is protected not by duties but by other measures. [passage omitted]

For about 60 percent of Hungarian exports directed toward the EFTA countries, which is valued at around $280 million, we have managed to achieved easier market conditions.

[Farkas] What goods are involved?

[Kadar] These are quite varied. Our main EFTA partner is Austria. Hungarian agricultural exports to Austria will be easier. First of all in the case of ducks, geese, salami, fruits...

[Farkas interrupts] Not in the case of chicken?

[Kadar] Chicken and turkey continue to reach the Austrian market under the previous terms because these are very market sensitive products in Austria.

[Farkas] How much altogether are we gaining through this?

[Kadar] At present this means improved trading opportunities. If we try to put a numerical value to the various concessions, this means around $60-65 million on the basis of last year's quantities and last year's composition of trade. [passage omitted]

For decades one of the basic problems of Hungarian economy was the problem of markets, the lack of foreign markets for goods which were largely the result of market constraints for Hungarian goods, because of duties, quotas, etc. Now we have succeeded in practically eliminating these in our EFTA trade. The doors to the EFTA countries has been opened and now we have to step over the threshold. The favorable market conditions are in vain if we do not have anything to export.

[Farkas] What do we give in exchange for the advantages? It was heard repeatedly here at the press briefing that the agreement is assymetrical, that Hungary does not immediately have to start dismantling the industrial goods tariffs, only after 1995. What did we have to provide immediately?

[Kadar] The period for Hungary to prepare and assimilate is nearly a decade. If during this period the Hungarian economy cannot improve its productivity and competitiveness, then it will be very sad in other ways as well not only because of our EFTA relations—this treaty provides adequate time for this—but because duties and quotas will come to an end between 1995-97 for about 40 percent of Hungarian imports and by 2002 for a further 40-42 percent. [end recording]

Brussels Embassy Clarifies Jeszenszky Statement

BR3003092293 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 26 Mar 93 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Hungarian Embassy Sets Record Straight on Interview With Mr. Jeszenszky in LA LIBRE BELGIQUE"]

[Text] Following publication in LA LIBRE BELGIQUE's 20-21 March issue of an interview granted by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to our Prague correspondent Christine Dupre, the Hungarian Embassy in Brussels sent us a clarification, the content of which appears below.

According to the embassy, Mr. Jeszenszky's words were presented in a manner that in no way corresponds to his ideas as expressed not just during that interview, but on many other occasions. One sentence attributed to him—"the remaining confusion is the only thing that we have to guarantee a future for the Hungarian minorities living not only in Slovakia, but also in Mr. Iliescu's Transylvania and Mr. Milosevic's Vojvodina"—fundamentally contradicts the very logic of global Hungarian foreign policy.

Indeed, it is not in Hungary's interest—and it cannot be so—to maintain "confusion" in its relations with countries containing a large Hungarian minority. The history of this century has taught us that uncertain situations always provide fertile ground for abuse, excesses, and unjust accusations against those in a weak position, namely minorities.

On the other hand, what Hungary is demanding—in full agreement with these minorities—is a clear, transparent situation where minorities have their rights guaranteed by law and reflected in reality, and where duly recognized borders do not act as a wall isolating them, but as a cultural and economic window onto the world around them.

Concerned to avoid any misunderstandings on this issue, the Hungarian Embassy wished to make this clarification, in accordance with Mr. Jeszenszky's wishes.

The above constitutes legal publication thereof.

Army Restructuring Complete, Redeployment Begins

LD2603234893 Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 26—Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz said on Friday [26 March] that the restructuring of the Polish Army and the General Staff was complete and now "we are talking about adjusting the structure of troops deployment to new strategic conceptions."

Elaborating, Onyszkiewicz said that the ministry plans to have 55 percent of forces deployed in western Poland and 45 on the east, while at the present moment 75 per cent is stationed in western regions.

Onyszkiewicz spoke to journalists after a meeting of the sejm committee for defence which held a meeting (closed to the press) devoted to the evaluation of Army restructuring but postponed issuing its opinion until extra documents are provided to clarify the distribution of responsibilities between the Defence Ministry and the General Staff.

UPR Chairman Korwin-Mikke Interviewed

PM2903135393 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 20-21 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Sejm deputy Janusz Korwin-Mikke, chairman of Union of Real Politics Main Board, by correspondent Bohdan Onichimowski; place, date not given]

[Text] [Onichimowski] Many people ask whether you are really a serious politician or a parliamentary jester.

[Korwin-Mikke] Well, making fun of certain aspects of Sejm life that just ask to be ridiculed is a very good parliamentary weapon. With the present Sejm's composition, the Union of Real Politics [UPR] has a rather limited field of action. The chance that any parliamentary bill which enjoys our support will be passed in the shape which we prefer is rather slim. This is why we tend to concentrate on pointing out absurdities in particular proposed solutions and suggesting ways of correcting them, in which we are occasionally successful. So we also practise pragmatism in addition to mockery... At the last session of our Main Council, we adopted two proposals: on our official position concerning taxation, and on the decision to refrain from interfering in current political contests and skirmishes. As regards taxes, we believe that they have been set too high, which causes even perfectly sound companies to go bankrupt. The tendency to increase taxation will eventually result in a situation where Polish firms will begin a mass exodus abroad.

[Onichimowski] So how high should the taxes be?

[Korwin-Mikke] A simulated calculation carried out by the Finance Ministry showed that, if we were to adopt linear taxation at the rate of 25 percent, then this year's revenues to the state budget would be higher by 20 trillion zloty [Z]. It is also calculated that if the tax rate was lowered to 13 percent, then this year's revenues would not decrease, while at the same time an economic boom would take place, which would soon result in increased revenues to the state budget.

[Onichimowski] You mentioned the current political brawls and skirmishes...

[Korwin-Mikke] There are three camps currently at war with one another: the Belweder camp, the national "weed-out-the-communists" security vetting contingent, and the proponents of joining the European Communities. Nevertheless, all this remains at the level of a family quarrel—and since this particular family cannot even conduct its internal arguments properly, we gentlemen must stand aside in the wings and only watch.

[Onichimowski] There is talk of an early election: Are you ready for it?

[Korwin-Mikke] No party is ever ready for an election. It is just like an army which is always prepared—for the last war! A new election—and we do not even know what the new electoral law will be—will mean new configurations and new methods...

[Onichimowski] Nevertheless, let us assume that a new election will be called around the end of this year or the beginning of the next. Will the Union for Real Politics win it?

[Korwin-Mikke] I believe that we shall win some 10-12 percent of votes. The electorate is currently very strongly left-oriented, and the election will be won by the Polish Peasant Party, the Democratic Left Alliance, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and the Union of Labor. We will be the strongest party within the right-wing camp, but it is they who will form the government—possibly in alliance with the left-wing faction of the Democratic Union.

[Onichimowski] Does the present tendency to incline to the left follow from the fact that the road to capitalism on which we embarked in 1989 has been compromised?

[Korwin-Mikke] You are looking at it from the wrong angle. Poland is currently shifting toward socialism. We were moving—step by little step—toward capitalism in the years 1956-89. Let me remind you that Minister Wilczek spoke quite clearly of setting up a Polish-style capitalist system, and that it was precisely then that the socialist power elite abolished the existing power structure and set about building socialism instead. Of course, this is not the bolshevik version of socialism: It is a thieving version, a West European version of socialism, whose scope for corruption we are only just beginning to appreciate.

Those people are involved in making all kinds of shady deals, not only in Europe, but also in the United States. It will not be long before we find out who it was who telephoned from the White House with instructions on

granting certain privileges and concessionary licenses to certain chosen joint ventures... Of course, we know very well that whenever a concession and license system operates instead of a free market, it becomes nothing other than a socialist, controlled distribution system that offers excellent opportunities for large-scale rackets and corruption.

[Onichimowski] Since you mention telephone calls from the White House, perhaps you could give us an assessment of our sovereignty.

[Korwin-Mikke] We have the sort of sovereignty we deserve. Let me remind you that some years ago, when Romania decided not to allow a Soviet train carrying Brezhnev across their territory, somehow there was no intervention from the USSR at all. This suggests that our own sovereignty then was also much higher than our rulers at that time gave us to understand. Also today our sovereignty would have been much more extensive if not for the servile attitude of our power elites to Washington—an attitude which, in my opinion, is associated with financial interests. However, the problem lies not only in our servility toward Washington, which can be attributed to the Belweder camp, but also servility toward the "Greater East," that is, Ms. Suchocka's and the Democratic Union's Paris connections, and the Liberal Democratic Congress' involvement with Germany.

[Onichimowski] But accusations have also been made of certain camps' connections with Moscow...

[Korwin-Mikke] I will not comment on this subject at all, since I really do not know with whom such a "pro-Moscow" camp could be associated there.

[Onichimowski] If the Union of Real Politics came to power, what, in your opinion, would be the most distinct feature of your rule?

[Korwin-Mikke] Normalcy. This means that our power would not be very much in evidence. We would just take care that the law was observed and that the army was strong enough to defend us when necessary. All the rest would be in the hands of the citizens.

[Onichimowski] The first constituency run by the Union of Real Politics is the borough of Kamien Pomorski. Are you pleased with its achievements to date?

[Korwin-Mikke] Yes. It is the first borough in which the mayor and the local council are satisfied that our methods are correct, and I must say that they have done amazingly well there. To begin with, I took a pessimistic view, but by now the effects are apparent, even though the mayor balances precariously along the borderlines of lawfulness.

[Onichimowski] You praise the mayor of Kamien Pomorski despite the fact that he is the sort of man who does not look too closely into people's past [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] party affiliations. I had the impression that you, on the other hand, are a proponent of a decommunization campaign.

[Korwin-Mikke] You are making a mistake here. I am not interested in any decommunization drives at all. Let me remind you that in the past, 90 percent of our adult citizens voted voluntarily in favor of the PZPR. Consequently, you cannot just go about punishing people for their past PZPR affiliation. If anyone suspects me of such attempts, it could be because of my parliamentary project for a security vetting bill. And let me remind you again that the bill did not propose to punish former agents, but to expose those secret security service operators who are still actively involved in the state power system: the Senate, the Sejm, and the Government... The idea was to expose them so that they would no longer constitute potential subjects for blackmail.

[Onichimowski] The security vetting act was a spectacular success for the UPR, was it not?

[Korwin-Mikke] It was, but it also cost us a lot. It was interpreted as our effort to "X-ray" everyone and everything with a view to exposing past communist connections... Incidentally, since we are discussing various decommunization projects, let me remind you that the PZPR brought about a crisis in a small and relatively poor country; on the other hand, the British Labor Party managed to bring the whole empire to its knees, and yet no one is putting it or its members on trial...

[Onichimowski] To conclude, let us take a look at yet another topical subject: the proposed presidential National Guard.

[Korwin-Mikke] There is nothing on the subject in the Polish Constitution. I believe that such a guard could be formed only for a strictly apolitical president. In any case, instead of discussing a presidential party or guard, you should read Alexandre Dumas on the struggle and intrigue conducted between between the cardinal's guardsmen and the king's musketeers.

[Onichimowski] Thank you for talking to us.

UDMR Protests Appointment of Romanian Prefects

AU2903200193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1650 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/3/1993—With reference to the recent appointment of Romanian prefects at the helm of the counties Harghita and Covasna, inhabited by ethnic Hungarians in a proportion of 84.6 and 75.2 percent respectively, the Council of Representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) issued a communique saying that "the appointment of Romanian prefects at the head of these two counties furthers the process of ethnic cleansing in government institutions, which, at this level, becomes an accomplished fact."

While showing that in December 1989 the chance of a democratic development gave hope for the abolition of practices in force during the previous regime, the communique finds that in 1993, "the government by its decision ignores even the practice adopted over the decades before the fall of communism, when, tacitly, the regime kept up the appearance that the will of the respective communities was taken into consideration."

The communique labels the Romanian Government's decision as a "defying act" and deems that "instead of solving the specific problems of ethnic minorities in Romania by taking efficient measures in tune with European standards, the government generates ethnic tension in contradiction with its declaration of striving for European integration, which thus questions the very intention of establishing a Council for Minorities under its subordination."

For the reasons above, the communique writes, the UDMR condemns with determination the political game of the power in the issue of the Harghita and Covasna prefects, an attitude which, in the opinion of the UDMR worsens the critical situation in Romania.

FDSN Rejects UDMR Protest

AU2903200293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] A press release of the Executive Bureau of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] in connection with the protest of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] against the appointment of prefects of Romanian origin in the counties of Harghita and Covasna, emphasizes that this protest is surprising because of its tone, which is unfounded and incorrect from a principled point of view.

After stressing that the UDMR's protest is prompted by the refusal to take note of the distinction between local representatives and the appointment of prefects, the FDSN statement cites Article 122 of Romania's Constitution, which stipulates that, quote: The prefect is the representative of the government at a local level and manages the decentralized public services of the ministries and of the other central bodies in regional administration units, unquote.

The statement then emphasizes that, quote: This does not mean that Hungarians are not suitable for holding political office, but a government is (?not) set up on the basis of political criteria, nor ethnic ones, unquote.

If it is indeed an advocate of political pluralism and democratic norms, then the UDMR cannot go beyond its status as a political party and must conduct itself like any other party. Therefore, the UDMR in Romania cannot claim to replace the government and its authority, and to exercise the latter in the two aforesaid counties.

We want to draw attention to the fact that the UDMR's claim for rights of control over a territory on the basis of ethnic considerations constitutes a clear form of separatism and attack against our state's integrity. This is not only territorial, but includes the integrity and sovereignty of its institutions.

In conclusion, the FDSN statement emphasizes that Romanian society and institutions are becoming increasingly stable. Romania's involvement in the process of democratic development is ever stronger and recognized as such. Therefore, the FDSN wants very seriously to point out to the UDMR that the policy it is promoting is at variance not only with unanimously recognized democratic norms, but also with the interests of the Hungarian minority that it claims to represent.

Unemployment Rate Exceeds 1 Million

AU2903131693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The unemployment rate in our country currently stands at 9.4 percent, that there are 1,085,000 people unemployed—Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of labor and social protection, said in a telephone interview with our radio station. The categories most affected are the workers, who make up 90/95 percent of the unemployed.

Referring to social protection measures to be applied as of 1 May, the last stage of price liberalization, Mr. Dan Mircea Popescu said that 100 percent compensations will be granted for the products and services where subsidies are completely eliminated and income indexations will be introduced, in keeping with price increases for other products and services.

The measures will be examined this week with the trade union centers and will be submitted to public discussion before being passed, Mr. Dan Mircea Popescu said.

PSM Supports 'Austerity Budget,' Demands Staff Cuts

AU2903163393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1506 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/3/1993—Vice President of the Socialist Labor Party (PSM) Tudor Mohora,

deputy, told a Monday, March 29 press conference that his party would vote in favor of the draft 1993 budget despite its imperfections.

The PSM option was motivated through the lack of an alternative, as whatever the criticisms the problem stayed the same. "Good or bad, the government's draft budget is an expression of the Romanian economy's dramatic situation and its consequences on social life. It is an austerity budget," deputy Mohora continued, "and we shall back it, asking inter alia for cuts in the numbers of the staff in public institutions and in the expenses related to them."

"The current deficit—about 900 billion lei—will certainly affect the future generations, but we do not agree to covering it by drawing funds away from social protection, education and health" the PSM vice president also said, and continued: "The demagogic populism shown by people like Eugen Dijmarescu of the National Salvation Front can no longer be justified. It is that very political formation that is responsible for the current disastrous state of the economy, not to speak of the duplicity of subsidies, but still it backs the trade unions, who ask for money but are unable to substantiate their claims."

Tackling a sensitive topic of these days, the situation in Russia, Mr. Mohora reasserted the PSM's option for democracy and against extremism, totalitarianism, violence. He opined that Romania must be cautious and further its national interests.

Stating that "shock therapy" as applied to the former communist countries had proved "a failure," Deputy Mohora pointed to the Chinese alternative, as a positive one in which reform had been introduced without social convulsions.

He also announced that PSM would commemorate, through a scientific session, the anniversary on April 2 of 100 years since the creation of the Social Democratic Party of the Romanian Workers (first left-wing political party in Romania).

Melescanu Justifies Slow Transition to Market Economy

PM3003115293 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 28-29 Mar 93 p 16

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Leopoldo Fabiani in Rome; date not given]

[Text] Rome—He came to Rome to seek Italian cooperation, in other words investment and economic aid. Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu met with his counterpart Emilio Colombo and with Treasury Minister Piero Barucci. The minister is very "satisfied" with his Rome meetings. "Barucci, in particular, was very encouraging. We asked him for a government credit line for investments by Italian firms already working in Romania, and to raise the insurance ceiling which the SACE [Export Credit Insurance Agency] guarantees to contracts with our country. The treasury minister promised he would do all he could."

[Fabiani] Mr. Minister, why is your country's transition to a market economy taking place—in the opinion of international observers—so much more slowly than in other former Soviet bloc countries?

[Melescanu] Rapid transition is not disputed by any of the Romanian political forces. The only concern is the social cost of transition, which is no joke. I repeat: Everybody would like the transition to a market economy to occur quickly. But it is a very painful transition, so the less tough it is the better. Otherwise, I would like to point out that Romania is a country with great economic potential. It represents a market of 30 million people, it is rich in natural resources like oil, gas, and coal, and it has always honored all its debts.

[Fabiani] Your country is among those which have been most frequently accused of violating the embargo against Serbia. How do you answer those accusations?

[Melescanu] Specific cases have not been raised. So I can only answer vague accusations in general terms. The first argument I would use is that we believe in the embargo as the only acceptable alternative to armed intervention which would cause the conflict to spread, with catastrophic consequences for neighboring countries like Romania. So even if we suffer economic damage, we want to prevent worse trouble. Second, on the borders between Romania and Serbia there are U.S. and British observers sent by the CSCE; if people do not believe us, they can at least believe them. We have also accepted the WEU [Western European Union] offer of 200 men for total control of the frontiers on the Danube.

[Fabiani] But will the embargo suffice to put an end to the war in the former Yugoslavia?

[Melescanu] Look, we are very concerned at the lack of success in putting an end to the massacres. But we are even more concerned at the situation which could arise once the conflict is over. There is a danger of creating an area of permanent, dangerous instability in the Balkans. Border safeguards and minority rights will need to be defined, to say nothing of the economic problems of small states such as Bosnia, Macedonia, and Slovenia, which cannot be economically self-sufficient.

[Fabiani] And what do you propose?

[Melescanu] We are in favor of a second phase in the peace conference, to create a regional security system in the Balkans, and to include among its guarantors those great powers with interests in the region, like Russia and even the United States.

[Fabiani] On the subject of minority rights, a substantial component of your population is of Magyar nationality. How do you propose to guarantee their rights?

[Melescanu] By accepting the European standard of minority rights. We wish to join the Council of Europe, to adopt the Convention on Human Rights.

[Fabiani] Are you willing to allay the suspicions of those who think you have territorial claims to Moldova, where the majority of the population is Romanian?

[Melescanu] We have no territorial claims. And we are ready to sign an agreement with Ukraine concerning the observance of the Helsinki Act regarding respect for borders. Then if Moldova asks to rejoin Romania in the future, the issue could be reexamined.

Iliescu, FPS Officials Discuss Privatization

AU2903200093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1711 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/3/1993—President Ion Iliescu of Romania received, Monday, 29 March, at the Cotroceni Palace, the members of the Board of Directors of the State Property Fund (FPS).

At the end of the interview, Senator Emil Dima, president of the board, told the press that the group had informed the president of their current actions towards the restructuring of the national economy, the management of the stock held by the state and, naturally, privatisation.

Starting from these major targets, the FPS Board, appointed in September 1992, drew up a privatisation programme for small and medium-sized enterprises. The programme was forwarded to the government, and, in keeping with the legal procedure, it is expected to be submitted to parliament for debate and approval. The FPS programme, in line with the governing programme, makes reference to the privatisation of small and medium businesses by its own methodology consisting in the purchase by the employees of the state-owned stock. At the beginning, the employees will have access to some 30 percent of the share value within the 70 percent of nominal capital. For the remaining 40 percent they are to be credited with a loan repayable in 6 years at an interest of 20 percent.

Senator Emil Dima specified that the official gazette of 11 March carried the announcement about the privatisation of 162 small businesses, for which the documentation is ready. This year the data regarding another 800 small, 100 medium-sized and 5-6 large enterprises will be processed in preparation of their privatisation.

Vacaroiu, Aides Discuss Cuts in Subsidies

AU2903161993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1527 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/3/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu, Minister of Labor and Social Protection Dan Mircea Popescu, Chairman of the Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy and Reform Misu Negritoiu and the government's special representative for the relationship with the trade unions Iacob Zelenco, together with experts and counselors met Monday, March 29 at the Victory Palace (government headquarters) to finalise the calculations related to the cutting of subsidies on May 1.

These calculations will be the basis for discussions with the trade unions confederations this week, says a communique released by the government spokesman.

FSN Protests Pbulic Statements by Vacaroiu

AU2903130793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The National Salvation Front [FSN] press office has faxed us a statement regarding certain public assertions made by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu during his [26 March] working visit in the Jiu Valley.

The FSN statement points out that the prime minister has gravely mislead public opinion by asserting that all payments will be stopped in economy if Parliament does not pass the 1993 state budget before 31 March.

Such assertions blatantly violate stipulations of Constitution and are part of the government's systematic scheme intended to divert the population's justified dissatisfaction with respect to the policy of the executive, the FSN statement says. Vacaroiu's assertions represent yet another inadmissible attempt to put parliament under pressure. Parliament has always observed and is observing constitutional provisions concerning the discussing and the passing of the state budget, the communique released by the FSN press office concludes.

Srebrenica Refugees Arrive in Tuzla

AU2903182193 Paris AFP in English 1752 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Hercegovina, March 29 (AFP)—More than 2,000 Moslems evacuated from Srebrenica arrived here Monday [29 March] in the biggest U.N. refugee convoy yet from the besieged eastern Bosnian region.

The 2,346 refugees arrived here at 6:30 P.M. (1630 GMT) in 19 U.N. lorries.

Two of the refugees died during the voyage. An infant fell from one of the trucks and was killed and an elderly man died.

The convoy was held up at the final Serb checkpoint on the road to Tuzla for five hours.

It was the second and largest convoy to leave Srebrenica, which has been under siege by Bosnian Serb forces for 11 months. On March 20, a total of 674 Moslems were allowed out of the town, but the situation had since been blocked by the fighting and resistance from local Serb commanders.

The convoy was finally able to leave Monday after a cease-fire agreement was reached Friday between U.N. commanders and General Ratko Mladic, chief of the Bosnian Serb military.

UN Officials Say Cease-Fire Holding but Fragile

AU3003105793 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 30 (AFP)—A "very tenuous" cease-fire was holding for the third day Tuesday [30 March] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, U.N. officials said as they awaited word on whether a new aid convoy had reached the besieged eastern enclave of Srebrenica.

Major Barry Frewer, spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said a "number of sporadic violations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina" had been reported, and UNPROFOR protested to the "various factions" when it knew who was responsible.

He did not state to which side complaints had been made.

The U.N.-brokered ceasefire, which took effect at midday Sunday, "for all intents and purposes is holding," but it "is very tenuous" and needs "time to consolidate," Frewer said.

The latest truce has held the longest of any since communal tension broke into war a year ago as Bosnian Serbs opposed the republic's independence and moved to carve out their own territory.

In Sarajevo, two young Serb soldiers were meanwhile sentenced to death by a military tribunal Tuesday for "genocide," including murders and rapes considered part of the Serbs' policy of driving Moslems out of their villages in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The two were Borislav Herak, 22, who confessed to killing 23 people and raping 15 women, and Sretko Damjanovic, who pleaded innocent to charges of killing four people and raping two women.

They have two weeks to appeal.

Frewer meanwhile reported light arms and mortar fire in the capital Sarajevo, but said the eastern Moslem enclave of Srebrenica was calm.

Bosnan radio reported that artillery fire had left three dead and five injured in Srebrenica, but as far as UNPROFOR knew "there is no battlefield activity" in Srebrenica, the spokesman said.

Another 16 U.N. trucks were expected in Srebrenica with more relief supplies for the desperate enclave, whose 70,000 inhabitants have been dying of hunger and cold after 11 months of siege.

The convoy had been stopped Monday at the Serbian border village of Mali Zvornik but was later allowed to pass, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokeswoman Shannon Boyd said in Zagreb.

It was carrying 150 tonnes of food, plastic sheeting and tents.

French and German planes joined U.S. aircraft again overnight in the daily airdrop over eastern Bosnia, despite Bosnian Serb protests over Germany's role in the humanitarian missions.

A French spokesman at the U.S Rhine-Main airbase near Frankfurt, Lieutenant Colonel Bernard Brault, said two French and one German Transall craft and six U.S. Hercules C-130 planes dropped 48.2 tonnes of food and 900 kilograms (nearly 2,000 pounds) of medicine over the Moslem enclave of Goradze, where the situation is said to be worsening quickly.

The first French and German craft since the airdrop started on February 28 joined this weekend, after a few days' delay under Serbian threats to shoot down any humanitarian aircraft if German planes took part. The Bosnians Serbs have warned that German military flights would remind Serbs of Nazi World War II bombings and atrocities.

On Monday, 2,346 Moslems were evacuated from Srebrenica to Moslem-controlled Tuzla as the new ceasefire held in the biggest U.N. refugee convoy yet from eastern Bosnia.

Serbs Accuse Muslims of Cease-Fire Violations

LD3003111093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Doboj, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Muslim units in the wider area of Doboj have violated the agreed settlement on numerous occasions, Serb military sources said today.

Muslim forces in the Doboj combat zone violated the cease-fire many times in the last 24 hours. From the region of Prljace, in the direction of Tesanj, they targeted Serb positions with infantry fire and two 82mm mortar shells.

A large motorized column has also been observed in this part of the combat zone moving from Jelah toward Karsum along the right bank of the Usora river.

Muslim forces also failed to respect the cease-fire at the Maglaj front where they opened infantry fire on civilian targets in the Serb villages of Paklenica and Trbuk from the direction of Kosova and Sija on the left bank of the Bosna river.

From the direction of Rujnica, south of Maglaj, heavy machine-gun fire has been opened on Serb positions in the Rudine area. Other defense lines have been completely quiet.

Muslim units have been active in the Spreca river valley, too, where they opened infantry fire on Serb positions and civilian targets in the Serb village of Precina from the direction of Miricine.

From their stronghold in Svatovac in the wider area of Zavidovici battlefield, Muslim units opened 82mm mortar fire on the Serb positions in Vijenac in the eastern part of Mount Ozren.

Most of the Muslim combat activities were carried out in the Teslic combat zone, in particular from the Kistelja area where they have been opening fire with 82 mm mortars and 20mm anti-aircraft guns toward Serb positions on Debelo and Siljato hills.

Heavy infantry fire was also opened from the direction of Pakanj toward Serb positions in the wider area of Kokosinjak. Other defense lines in this combat zone were calm. [passage omitted]

Serbs Protest German Role in Aid Drops

LD2903135393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The Government of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] has sent a sharp protest to the UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] in reaction to the participation by a German transport plane in the U.S. airdrop operation for delivery of humanitarian aid to Muslims in eastern Bosnia.

It is said in the protest note that this violates an agreement reached on 25 February this year by Serb Republic Premier Vladimir Lukic, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina Philippe Morillon, and U.S. representative Jim Jones ruling out the participation of German planes in the airdrop operation.

It is noted that the Government of the Serb republic has warned on many occasions that "the presence of any German planes in this area is unacceptable for deep historical reasons and that it would be contrary to the agreement."

A German transport plane took part in the airdrop operation for the first time last night. Even though the Americans promised the aid to all sides, it has so far reached only the Muslim side, which has received over 800 tonnes of food and medicine.

"We most vehemently protest the violations of the agreement and the fact that our standpoints are being ignored. Our indignation is all the more profound as we have reasons to suspect that this is a political provocation and in this case humanitarian flights are being misused for political reasons. Such activities are deeply worrying for us and could result in irreparable damage to humanitarian efforts and the UNHCR's reputation," the protest note says.

The protest note concludes by warning that to continue the practice of unilateral acts could bring into doubt any further cooperation by the Serb side in humanitarian operations.

"If the UNHCR wants to enjoy our further support and cooperation, it is necessary for them to respect our standpoints and interests to a far larger extent then has been done so far," it is stressed in the protest note.

Presidency Member 'Very Bitter' at UN Over Aid

AU2903185693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, made a statement for Bosnia-Herzegovina Television concerning the extremely difficult situation in Gorazde.

[Begin Ganic recording] We have tried to influence the UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] to intensify land convoys for Gorazde, but at the same time we stressed to the U.S. Government that the solution for Gorazde is not just in the land convoys. On behalf of the presidency and government, I have sent a letter to the U.S. Government asking them to urgently airdrop food to Gorazde. Apart from the fact that we have to maintain the land convoys, we have to intensify the delivery of food; however, at the same time we have to airdrop food to Gorazde.

Yesterday I spoke to Mr. Djakovic, who has been appointed ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina but is

currently in Washington, and briefed him on the difficult and tragic situation in Gorazde. He promised that he would insist every day that the U.S. Government consider eastern Bosnia, and particularly Gorazde, which has been somewhat neglected by them, as a place with a high concentration of refugees that have been squeezed into that region from all over and intensify the delivery of food. [passage omitted]

It is our duty to help eastern Bosnia with all available means. Eastern Bosnia has been neglected by the United Nations; it has been forgotten, since not a single UNPROFOR battalion has been stationed in that region. I feel very bitter toward the United Nations because of that attitude and now the Americans have to take over a good part of the responsibility to deliver food regularly to the citizens of Gorazde and eastern Bosnia. We have to work on that every day. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic: UN No-Fly Resolution 'Will Be Adopted'

AU2903194493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Excerpt from interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, by Nada al-Isa; in Zagreb on 29 March—recorded]

[Text] [al-Isa] Mr. Minister, we would like to ask your opinion. What do you think about the speculation or prognosis in the world that the world has to choose now between Russia and Bosnia-Herzegovina? That is, we know that Russia has had its reservations about the adoption of the resolution on the no-fly zone, and, considering the crisis in Russia—at least the commentaries point that way—Russia needed help while Bosnia could wait a bit longer? Do you agree with that assessment?

[Silajdzic] Yes. Generally yes. Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev was in Washington and he asked that the issue of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina be postponed because of the crisis in Moscow. Therefore it is perfectly clear that the world at that point, if you want, had to choose between Russia and Bosnia, and of course it chose Russia. However, it appears that the question of the flight ban, the ban on military flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina will be solved.

[al-Isa] How?

[Silajdzic] The resolution will be adopted. We have had such reassurance from the State Department, and during talks with Vice President Gore and Secretary of State Christopher we were told that [word indistinct] it would be in the next few days. We asked that [words indistinct] the approval of the Vance-Owen plan that was signed and the no-fly zone are connected in a way, so that the approval of the plan is not just another resolution, just another condemnation of the aggression, but to make it a meaningful decision. The enforcement of the no-fly zone is a form of intervention, and it appears that a psychological barrier will be brought down in that way. If, however, that does not happen, and if the plan is not implemented, or the third side does not sign, then we have made it perfectly clear that our signature on the Vance-Owen plan would become null and void.

[al-Isa] But then what? Then you are back at the beginning again?

[Silajdzic] The war is continuing regardless, particularly as the aggressor has no intention of stopping his aggression—that is, they intend to continue it. The signing of the plan puts us in a more favorable position. We are continuing to defend ourselves, but from a better position. We will have to see whether that position is not a better position. If it is not supported by concrete actions by the international community, it means that the international community wanted the signature and not peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[al-Isa] Is that some sort of an alibi? Is it only an excuse for not intervening?

[Silajdzic] All right, it is said to be a constructive step, and we believe that it is, that it is the best move at the moment, but it is clearly conditioned by action. If there is no action, then someone is clearly lying. If, on the other hand, the no-fly ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina is adopted as a Security Council resolution, and if the third side signs, or, that is, if the plan is implemented without the signature of the third side, then that means that the international community is serious about wanting to establish peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it is serious about stopping the aggression.

Sarajevo Court Sentences Serb Soldiers to Death

AU3003092293 Paris AFP in English 0907 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 30 (AFP)—Two young Serb soldiers were sentenced to death Tuesday [30 March] in Sarajevo for murders and rapes considered part of ethnic cleansing of Moslem villages.

Borislav Herak and Sretko Damjanovic were charged with "genocide".

Gorazde Residents 'Beg' for Humanitarian Aid

AU3003105393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 10 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Thousands of people, gazing at the sky, were waiting for the lifesaving cargo of humanity. They spent the entire night in the open, but the aircraft did not drop the aid to the suffering residents of Gorazde region last night. That is why we appeal once again, we beg all state, European, and international organizations to immediately send aid to Gorazde as tomorrow will already be too late.

This was (?Anhad) Kalamujic reporting from the press center of Gorazde region.

Serb Parliament To Meet in Bileca 2 Apr

AU3003102693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] The parliament of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] will convene in Bileca of Friday, 2 April. This was stated by Momcilo Krajisnik in a statement for TANJUG. The parliament is expected to come up with the final word concerning the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic will brief the parliament on the negotiations in New York, explain the stands of the negotiating team, and request that deputies express their view on the issue. We want the parliament to assess our conduct so far and adopt a platform for future steps, Krajisnik explained.

Journalist Talks About Sarajevo TV

93BA0737A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 93 p 8

[Interview with Ivica Puljic, foreign affairs editor of Bosnia-Herzegovina Television, by Zeljko Maganjic; place and date not given: "A Million People Watching Television in the Cellar"]

[Text] When in addition to the media war in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] this war, which might be called a medieval war on the system of "surround the city and strike everything that dares to move," also began, Ivica Puljic, newsman and editor of the daily news program of what then was still TV Sarajevo, was among the first, as it is put, to reach the scene of the event. He had a very successful debut and gained considerable popularity on Sarajevo Radio 202, as editor of the daily TV news program over the last three years, and in recent months he was given responsibility for the foreign affairs program of TV Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as for that organization's relations with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. After 11 years in journalism and the nine-month barbaric siege of the city, I asked Ivica how he was.

Professionals and "Mistresses"

[Maganjic] Have you lost weight?

[Puljic] Well, I am fine, and as for losing weight, in that respect I represent the Sarajevo average—some 15 kg!

[Maganjic] Are you still one of the most popular newsmen on TV B-H?

[Puljic] Perhaps it is immodest, but there has been no change in that. People still come up to me on the streets of Sarajevo, an elderly lady will come up to me and kiss me and say: Young man, we hope you stay well. Others ask why I lost so much weight, children come up to me and—that is what keeps me in Sarajevo. What else would keep me here? Five days ago, for instance, I received my salary, which was worth about 5 German marks [DM], and only the general director has a higher salary than me.

[Maganjic] What is the general atmosphere at TV B-H?

[Puljic] You know what, even we are in what I cannot call a conflict with the state, with its institutions, but there are deep disagreements, that is evident. So, that government has never backed our organization, it never wanted to do its part of the job so that through Radio-TV B-H we might cover the entire state of B-H.

[Maganjic] Is that possible?

[Puljic] Probably it is, because if someone gets his aunt or uncle out of Sarajevo in an UNPROFOR plane—not to mention "mistresses"—then it is surely possible to get a journalist out to do his professional job and come back to his country. That was never done. The best example is all these conferences in Geneva and London and other places. It would be logical for them to be covered by a journalist from TV B-H, but for that person to be designated by the editors. However, what happened was that a journalist would go who was taken along by some politician. So then we look at the photograph from VIS-News taken at the Sarajevo Airport when the B-H delegation was boarding the plane for Geneva, and we see a journalist of ours getting into the Hercules. We cannot figure how that man got there, and no one in the office knew that he was traveling. What is worse, that man has no idea how to file a good story. He is not a professional. Here, the government is doing itself a disservice.

[Maganjic] How do you stand with equipment and what links do you have with the other republic centers?

[Puljic] Nine of our 11 transmitters have been taken away or demolished, so that now we are very dependent on Croatian Television. And our team of engineers and technicians is waiting to leave Sarajevo and set up links with Mostar, Zenica, and Tuzla. So, here the B-H Government misfired, because it still has not made that possible for us. You see, it was exactly on Christmas Eve that four of us tried to carry some of the equipment across the runway, but we ran into some ambush where we lay on a flat terrain illuminated by lighted rockets for about an hour under bombardment from all those guns. We barely extricated ourselves without ever getting to the famous UNPROFOR. You crawl that way with a camera and two bags full of equipment and your travel voucher in your pocket, "you are going on a business trip." That was when we wanted to use certain intermediate stations on free territory to link Mostar, Tuzla, and Zenica with Sarajevo.

[Maganjic] Is there a desire for Croatian TV to help?

[Puljic] Yes. There has been a desire. You know, it should not be forgotten that Sarajevo TV helped Croatian TV quite a bit during the attack on Croatia, precisely when the repeater on Biokovo was hit. At that time, an intermediate station on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was used to help Croatian TV. They perhaps do not even know that in Croatia.

Where Is the Truth?

[Maganjic] How many people in all can see you?

[Puljic] About a million people. A great many. TV B-H can be seen, when there is power, aside from Sarajevo, in the vicinity of the capital, in Zenica and environs, in the Tuzla region.... Recently, they have been able to see us in a part of Herzegovina, around Mostar, Konjic, Jablanica. You see, that was an absurd situation when for a time more people in B-H could see us than could listen to the radio. That is, the medium-wave transmitter was destroyed, and it went back into operation at the beginning of February.

[Maganjic] What is it like in the building of TV B-H?

[Puljic] Not much food, no heat, and you work 10, 15, or 20 hours a day. And Sarajevo winters are very harsh. We have had people end up in the hospital with frostbite on their hands and feet. Again I must mention the government. This did not concern anyone. We nevertheless must depend on the government, because there is no subscription or advertising. Look at OSLOBODJENJE. Their building was destroyed, their people have been suffering just like we have, but now the other day they received some world prizes and recognition. But no one anywhere knows that 32 people from Radio-TV B-H were killed. This is a number such as no radio-TV has ever had anywhere on this planet. None of us even knows the number of wounded.

[Maganjic] Why do we never see or hear that?

[Puljic] I do not know. Perhaps we are at fault for not having carried on that kind of backdoor propaganda with the foreign journalists. Perhaps the completely demolished building of OSLOBODJENJE is more interesting than ours, which was not demolished, but it was pretty much wrecked. Probably also because we had no occasion to go outside and talk about it. But we could not get out.

[Maganjic] Now the conflicts between Croats and Muslims are current. How is this dealt with on TV B-H?

[Puljic] First, that conflict has hit me hardest in this war. Second, in the B-H media all the blame for the beginning of the conflict between the Croats and Muslims, as well as for the continuation of the conflict, is placed on the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], which is again impossible, because if you and I quarrel for 10 days, then you have to be to blame at least once. So, as a professional journalist I begin to suspect that kind of truth, and I called up some people I know and managed to contact Tihomir Blaskovic, commander of the HVO for central Bosnia. Some of what he said was completely the opposite from what came from the press office of the B-H Army. I must say that on television we do not originate the information, but we get it from the army press office. It is an important truth that all the journalists who have remained in Sarajevo remain for only two reasons—patriotism and professionalism. Let me tell you frankly, aside from the changes that have taken place, we in television need some more changes, because in spite of everything I have said, that we do not have support from the republic Presidency. I must tell you that we journalists are a worse segment of that television. Our shortcomings are immense. People simply are not able to do this job.

"Heroes" From Zrinjevac

[Maganjic] What opportunity have you had to be professional?

[Puljic] As far as the conflict between Croats and Muslims is concerned, we see nothing in Sarajevo. Those people in the press department of the army bring in reports from the field, how, God only knows. Again, here in Croatia I see that only the Bosnian side is accused. I believe that that is not the complete truth either. Perhaps now I am slowly realizing the real truth, but it is evident that from the beginning of these conflicts the Croats have felt insecure in Sarajevo. I do not think that now some Muslim is going to come up and say: "Well, Ivica, now I am going to do such-and-such to you," and threaten me, and curse me. I have not had a single case of that. I really have not, but I see things, because I meet people. They are becoming insecure, they ask what are we doing, are we being left here, sold out? Have we been left as a pledge, I mean, by the policy conducted by the Croatian politicians in B-H? Look, when I left Sarajevo, there was not a single Croatian politician there. Not only then, but for days before that, indeed even months.

[Maganjic] How many Croats are there now in Sarajevo?

[Puljic] Here, I have a figure here which has not been published anywhere. Of the 6.7 percent Croats in the population of Sarajevo before the war, as of 10 December of last year 1,056 Croatian civilians had been killed. That is recorded. About 170 Croats were killed in combat, in units of the B-H Army, and more than 30 in units of the HVO. It has been two months since that date, a great many Croats have left the city, and the victims from Otes and Stup still have not been added.

[Maganjic] Would you work for TV of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia?

[Puljic] No, I would not. I think I can do more for the Croatian people in B-H working for TV B-H, because it is easy to be a Croat in Grude, Split, Zagreb, but, my friend, just go and be a Croat in Sarajevo, in Zenica.... Now that is a bit more difficult.

A year and a half ago when I was in Zagreb on business I heard an opinion which simply dumbfounded me: Someone said, you who stayed in Sarajevo, you Croats, you are traitors. Well, only a man who is a bit stupid could say that, or, and I think the latter is more likely, a man who is looking for justification for himself for

having fled 10 months before. Now, he strolls through Zrinjevac like a hero and does nothing, and we who stayed there, by God, to fight for our country and for our people, we are traitors?

[Maganjic] What is it here that bothers you most about Sarajevo?

[Puljic] You know, it bothers me terribly when people who get out of Sarajevo say: Ah, Sarajevo will never again be that city, it is all revolting, this and that—they are just lying! They are seeking justification. In the end, it will turn out that it was not really so bad in Sarajevo. It is horribly difficult in Sarajevo, the situation is horrifying. Within the front there, which is 62 km long, 118 tanks and armored vehicles have so far been destroyed. But the city has largely preserved that famous spirit it had. In Sarajevo, for example, you go to the theater for a first night, you see the normal people you care about and people to whom you can talk. It is natural that relations have changed, because this is war! People, after all, have taken up arms. And with war come people who are a bit more radical, and with them come people who are more primitive, and that has never been Sarajevo's specialty at all.

Sarajevo Has a Chance

[Maganjic] Does Sarajevo have a chance?

[Puljic] Yes, it does. It does. Take Ademir Kanovic, film director, a man who could have left 10 times, because he is world renowned, he is now making a film in Sarajevo and refuses to leave. We often talk, and then foreign journalists come and ask us why the two of us are here. Well, we live here, we say. We live in Sarajevo just as they live in London, and that is all there is to that.

[Maganjic] What about the other Puljic of Sarajevo? Has Monsignor Vinko Puljic been able to leave Sarajevo?

[Puljic] He has left a dozen times and always come back. You know the opinion of the church that while there is one Catholic in Sarajevo, the church should also be here. You see, in Sarajevo you have only one Orthodox priest. He is not even a priest, but a deacon, which is in the lower rank of clergy, but a great many Orthodox believers have remained in Sarajevo. They go to church, and there is no one to perform the service.

[Maganjic] And how many Serbs have remained at TV B-H?

[Puljic] Well, quite a few have remained, there are those who think too many. (Laughter)

[Maganjic] Who surprised you most by going over to Serbian Television, Channel S, to Pale?

[Puljic] Dragan Bozanic the most, because when the attack began on Sarajevo, at that time Sead Hadzifejzovic and I were alongside him doing the nightly news program at 1930 hours.

[Maganjic] Again Serb, Croat, Muslim.

[Puljic] Well, sure, ha, ha....

[Maganjic] So there is no other way in Bosnia, is there?

[Puljic] Well, no, it is the same old quota system. So, sometime in April or May Bozanic says that he cannot do the news program any longer, that he feels some kind of psychological pressure. Fine. One day, no Dragan. You look at the Serbian Television and there he is, anchoring the news program. We put our hands to our heads, what is this? And that primitive Risto Djogo, you know what he is like.... A fighter in Sarajevo said to me: "Man, would I like to catch Radovan Karadzic." And so, what would you do, I asked him. He said, "Believe me, just so I could exchange him for Risto Djogo." You see, that is how angry he has made people with his primitive way of doing things. Just imagine, Risto Djogo shows burning buildings in Sarajevo over TV from Pale, people are climbing down from one balcony to the other, and the firemen are putting masks on them because they have swallowed smoke, and after that he shows a picture of a scene with pigs going by, as though those poor people were putting on masks because of the smell of the pigs. That is so painful and insulting....

[Maganjic] What about the "famous" Ilija Guzina?

[Puljic] Or he.... They were hitting us with multibarrel rocket launchers in the TV building. Everything was on fire. And he calls us on the telephone while the lines were still working. And then you answer somehow from underneath the desk, and he says: "Are you burning, are you burning up? Burn up, damn you! Burn up!" And what would you do to a man like that if you saw him, just give him one between the eyes—you know, democratic fashion! What more could you have to say to him? Or again, Djogo wears some shoes with lilies and he puts his feet up on the table and spits on the lilies. During the news program.

[Maganjic] He spits?

[Puljic] Of course. Or again, we are working in winter coats, because there is no heat, and they up there know that we are cold, so then Djogo comes into the studio of TV Pale and strips to the waist in the middle of the program. Get out of here....

[Maganjic] So, after everything, are you going back again to Sarajevo?

[Puljic] Of course.

[Maganjic] Good luck.

[Box, p 8]

The Gogalo Case

Except for certain incidents, relations between the HVO and the B-H Army in Sarajevo are not bad. There was that flap when Josip Gogalo was murdered. Then Miro Lasic, a member of the Presidency, sent out quite a few

harsh protests in every direction. Later, the killers were found, and it turned out that those men had also killed several Serbs and Muslims, and had done so for gain. There were 17 of them arrested, and I think that some of them might even have gotten the death penalty. Lasic did a good thing here, because thanks to the noise he made about the unfortunate Gogalo, he certainly meant to protect the other Croats, and on TV B-H we showed Gogalo's funeral on the news in a three-and-a-half-minute sequence, including Lasic's speech.

[Box, p 8]

Fitness

Nedim Loncarevic, editor in chief of TV B-H, was removed because he was not a party man. Then he went to Paris and took with him a documentary made on our television, and it is called "Fascism '92." When it was shown in Paris, the program provoked a real storm. I hear that it has been nominated for the documentary program of the festival at Cannes, and it caused demonstrations against ethnic cleansing in Paris.

Muslim Ideologist on Izetbegovic's Failure

93BA0722A Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 93 pp 9-10

[Interview with Adil Zulfikarpasic, head of Muslim-Bosnian Organization, by Semra Saracevic; date and place not given: "Izetbegovic Is Worse Than the Muslims' Worst Enemy!"]

[Text] *Adil Zulfikarpasic, the ideologist of Bosnianhood who until only recently urged Muslims to remain in the so-called FRY, but who now ardently advocates a religious war and unitary Bosnia, blames the Serbs, the Croats, and the president of B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina].*

Semra Saracevic talks with Adil Zulfikarpasic, once an advocate of reaching an agreement with the Serbs who now regards that as Izetbegovic's biggest failure.

The Geneva Conference has been transformed into a reprise of the Croat-Serb settlement of 1939, where Tudjman is taking Macek's place and Milosevic is taking Cvetkovic's place!; we have gotten less than 20 percent of our territory in B-H, for 52 percent of the population!; Herzeg-Bosnia is the same thing as the Serbian Republic of Bosnia: One policy was created in Belgrade, and the other in Zagreb; it is impossible to divide Bosnia on an ethnic and religious basis; signals have come in from the United States indicating that the time has come to finally resolve the situation in B-H.

Adil Zulfikarpasic, the leader of a minor Bosnian party, the Muslim-Bosnian Organization [MBO], and the main ideologist of Bosnianhood, is probably the most controversial Muslim politician.

Zulfikarpasic emerged from the World War II as a Partisan major general. Several years after the war, he went abroad, where he became wealthy. Allegedly, most of that wealth came from trading in arms.

In Zurich, Zulfikarpasic founded the Institute for Bosnian Studies, the only one in the world, propagating in this way his theory that Bosnians are a separate ethnic group and that Orthodox, Catholics, and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina are actually Bosnians.

In early 1990, Zulfikarpasic returned to Bosnia, where he founded the Party of Democratic Action together with Alija Izetbegovic. Before long, conflict emerged between them, and the Bosnian president accused Zulfikarpasic of being a KOS [Yugoslav Counterintelligence Service] agent. Later events seemed to confirm Izetbegovic's assessment: Zulfikarpasic proposed to Karadzic that a Muslim-Serb agreement be signed, because of which Bosnian Muslims and Croats declared him a traitor. It appeared that Zulfikarpasic, who left Bosnia at the beginning of the war, was completely ruined politically.

Over the last few months, however, Alija Izetbegovic has taken Zulfikarpasic's closest associate, MBO cofounder and academician Muhamed Filipovic, with him to negotiations in Geneva, New York, and Jedda. All indications are that because of their strong international connections and Zulfikarpasic's money, he and Filipovic once again have influence over Bosnian state policy. Their radicalism and impatience toward Croats can only complicate the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Openly confronting Croat political leaders in Bosnia, Zulfikarpasic is surprising Karadzic and Boban and thus exacerbating the already overstrained relations between Croats and Muslims.

Although now he says that there is no longer any need to even talk to Karadzic, Zulfikarpasic's assessment of the situation in Bosnia, in terms of Croat politicians, is along the lines of the "historic Muslim-Serb agreement" that the Muslim-Bosnian Organization offered Karadzic a year ago.

[Saracevic] How is it that today you oppose any negotiation with the Serbs when you were the one who offered an agreement between Muslims and Karadzic?

[Zulfikarpasic] When I wanted to negotiate, Karadzic was one of the Serb leaders in all of what was then Yugoslavia. At that time, not a drop of blood had been shed between us, but preparations were being made for war. In order to prevent war, you can only negotiate with your political opponent and with those people who threaten you. That was the time for negotiation, in order to prevent a catastrophe, but once it happened, once someone had practically destroyed your nation, then you had to fight that someone, seek allies in the world against him, and especially once world public opinion had turned against him, adopt a firm position concerning his guilt. The negotiations in Geneva are Mr. Karadzic's salvation.

[Saracevic] Does that mean that today you would not sit down at the negotiating table with Karadzic or Milosevic?

[Zulfikarpasic] Not for anything in the world! Now those people are knee-deep in blood and have committed war crimes, crimes against man that the world has never seen. The whole world has finally realized that what we are seeing is the destruction of the Bosnian nation, unparalleled Chetnik aggression. The positions of the Clinton administration have moved closer to ours, which has lead to a certain amount of anxiety in circles partial to the aggressor that have taken pro-Serbian actions around the world. And the opinion of the Republicans has changed so much that even former U.S. Secretary of State Eagleburger has declared Milosevic, Karadzic, Mladic, and Seselj war criminals. British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has abandoned his restraint regarding military action. The French foreign minister has declared that the French alone will liberate the concentration camps containing Muslims. Thus, while all of this has been happening, President Izetbegovic has declared in Zagreb that he is ready to negotiate directly with Karadzic in Geneva!

After crimes like the ones that Karadzic has organized, I believe that direct negotiations with him constitute capitulation. They would legitimize ethnic cleansing, legitimize the murder of 200,000 people, legitimize the rapes and seizure of our territory, the expulsion of a million Bosnian Muslims. It is monstrous to even think about that, and for that reason I must repeat that I would never negotiate with those people!

[Saracevic] Has the world community not forced President Izetbegovic to sit down at the negotiating table with Radovan Karadzic?

[Zulfikarpasic] Under no circumstances should Mr. Izetbegovic have accepted negotiations. No one could have forced him to do so. The best proof of this comes from the numerous resolutions adopted against Serbia and the Serbs which no one has respected, so that despite this nothing has happened to them!

Once Karadzic and Milosevic had arrived, first in Geneva and then in New York, you had to know that they would take advantage of that. All of a sudden, murderers and criminals present themselves as peacemakers. The world press has written about these murderers with utter repugnance, and now they are ostensibly making decisions about peace.

[Saracevic] What is your present-day assessment of your conflict with Izetbegovic in 1991?

[Zulfikarpasic] If you had chosen the greatest enemy of Muslim Bosnians and given power to him, even he could not have destroyed us this quickly! Why? If Karadzic or Mladic had said, "Do not arm yourselves, nothing will happen to you," we would not have believed them and would have armed ourselves! But when the president of Prijedor Opstina says, "Turn over your weapons, I guarantee you that nothing will happen to you," or when the president of the republic says, "There will be no war in Bosnia," while the war is already beginning, then that president is a tragic politician at the head of a tragic state: Izetbegovic initiated a series of catastrophic mistakes!

When Mr. Izetbegovic and I last met, I first asked him how it could happen that relations with our allies, the Croats, which had been good up to then, had changed so dramatically to our disadvantage? How is it possible that our transports are looted? Can that not be resolved with Dr. Tudjman? When Europe wanted to declare Croatia an aggressor as well, I told him, "Then you saved them with agreements on a joint command, not between Croat forces in Bosnia, but rather between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina!" If an agreement had been drawn up after those negotiations, then Dr. Tudjman probably would have complied with it. This is sheer improvisation on our part. Today Bosnia has no legitimate state institutions. For example, the prime minister goes to Geneva and says, "The president of the state does not represent me, Boban does," and the president of the state does not react to this! After that statement, Izetbegovic should have immediately replaced Akmadzic!

[Saracevic] Why were there clashes between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia?

[Zulfikarpasic] That should never have happened! The brutality of the fighting between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia is incredible. Equally brutal is the propaganda by one side against the other! Muslim propaganda says that the Croats are worse than the Serbs, while Croat propaganda says that Muslims are burning, raping.... When nationalisms find expression, all the negativity comes with them. This is all a tragedy. With lived in harmony with the Croats. So whose plan was it to create Herzeg-Bosnia within sovereign Bosnia, a state assuming power, the judiciary, schooling, money from Croatia, in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Saracevic] In your opinion, what is Herzeg-Bosnia?

[Zulfikarpasic] Herzeg-Bosnia is the same as the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which does not exist. It is a product of Croatian nationalism, which wants to divide up Bosnia, just as on the other side there is the desire to create a Greater Serbia. One policy is created in Belgrade, the other in Zagreb. When they declared me a traitor for negotiating with Karadzic, Boban negotiated with him in Austria immediately thereafter! Karadzic said that an agreement on dividing Bosnia was being prepared with Boban.

One more thing about the historic agreement with the Serbs: I knew that if we did not reach an agreement with the Serbs, then the Croats would, that if we did not reach a settlement with the Serbs and Croats on peace in Bosnia, then Dr. Tudjman and Milosevic would reach a settlement. That is why it was a historic moment for

Izetbegovic and Zulfikarpasic to reach an agreement with Karadzic, and for Dr. Tudjman and Milosevic not to do so.

When it comes to agreeing on dividing up Bosnia, which is apparently happening now, there are no contestable issues whatsoever: Dr. Tudjman and Milosevic, and their exponents Karadzic and Boban, will easily find a solution! Dr. Tudjman, however, is also negotiating with Cosic, but at the same time he is fighting for "Krajina."

[Saracevic] Since there are three constituent nations living in B-H, do you think that the kind of unitary Bosnia that you imagine is possible?

[Zulfikarpasic] I personally know many Catholics and Catholic priests who, like me, have a Bosnian orientation, as well as many Orthodox and many Muslims. Our adversaries will homogenize our nation. For example, before the war the Jews were completely devoid of national feeling, there were very few Jews who had a vision of the unification of the Jewish nation, and then Hitler appeared and homogenized them. But even today, and perhaps for the next thousand years, they will be primarily Jews, and only then Israelis. That is how the Bosnian nation, as one of the leading nations in Bosnia, will also be homogenized. The idea that one party, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], has right now, that it alone will be able to preserve Bosnia, is untenable. Our only chance for survival is if we all unite. That is the obligation that we all share, regardless of our political orientation!

After all, you know that there is a Bosnian Institute in Zurich, which owns books and documents worth 10 million Swiss francs. The building itself is also worth that much. All the eminent people and journalists looking for literature on Bosnia use materials from the rarities that our library has. Many priceless documents are in fact written in the Bosnian language, the existence of which many people deny, albeit out of ignorance.

[Saracevic] What are the prospects that your concept of a unitary Bosnia will become a reality?

[Zulfikarpasic] The Geneva Conference began as a special session, but it has been transformed into a reprise of the Croat-Serb settlement of 1939, where Tudjman is taking Macek's place and Milosevic is taking Cvetkovic's place.

Dividing Bosnia on an ethnic and religious basis is impossible. We are now aware that at a horrible moment like this we cannot accept our own death. However, we are weak, ruined, and dispersed, but despite all that we will summon the strength to survive, and do so in a single Bosnia, which will be democratic and indivisible and will belong to everyone. Like Cvetkovic and Macek said, the division was done according to the principle of a majority Croat or Serb population, while the Muslims were ignored, treated as if they did not even exist!

Today, however, the Muslims do exist! The modified ethnic map with provinces, which Vance and Owen created after talking to the Serb and Croat sides, means nothing more than death for the Muslim nation. We would get less than 20 percent of our territory, for 52 percent of the population of B-H! If the ethnic principle were observed equally for each side, then the Croats would have gotten significantly less than 30 percent!

I personally think that Vance and Owen are third-rate politicians, whose mission is to achieve peace in the Balkans, whatever the price paid by the Bosnians. To achieve peace even at the expense of 500,000 Muslims!

[Saracevic] What do you think about the possibility of military intervention?

[Zulfikarpasic] If Dr. Tudjman and Izetbegovic had reached an agreement immediately after the aggression broke out, Herzeg-Bosnia would not have been created, and it would be easier for us to defend ourselves together. The negative development for Bosnians was elicited by Alija Izetbegovic's continuous agreement to negotiate with Karadzic and Milosevic. Because of that, intervention became almost irrelevant, because no one wants to intervene as long as there is any chance of peace.

While the entire world has watched with repugnance the crimes of the Chetniks in Bosnia, it is precisely the Geneva Conference and our president who are giving the Chetniks an ill-fated opportunity. That is absurd! They wait for some sort of decision by some assembly in Pale, where criminals in uniform are sitting in an improvised assembly chamber, fresh back from the massacres, and deciding about peace! All the world's cameras are focused on them! Our president should have said immediately in Geneva that there can be no waiting, that a decision must be made right away, and that the fate of Bosnia cannot be decided in Pale! The conference site was no longer Geneva, but rather Pale. Uncanny! The negotiations in New York must not be a repeat of Geneva. No one has the right to sign a historic capitulation. Only when we clearly tell the world that we will not reach an agreement with criminals is intervention possible.

Effects of War on Situation in Banja Luka

93BA0747A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 20-21

[Article by Lidija Soldo: "Banja Luka: Waiting for the Light"]

[Text] *While negotiations are going on in New York, the largest Serbian city in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is suffering through life without electricity, wartime misery, crime, general uncertainty in which members of other nationalities are the worst-off, and then there are the financial-political disagreements with Pale.*

"Be ready to show your documents as well as your bus ticket," the conductor says on the bus to Banja Luka. A routine check, because the only ones on the bus are Serbs anyway. Along the corridor—through Bijeljina, Brcko, Modrica, Derventa, Prnjavor, the only route today that connects the borderlands with the Republic of Serbia. The trip is not a safe one. A battle over the corridor is being waged at the negotiating table, but also in the field. It is a question of life and death for the borderland Serbs. Traces of mortar shells are visible along the entire route. Devastated, burned-out houses, a wasteland. Occasionally, explosions are heard in the distance. At the bus station in Brcko, a forgotten sign: "Buses for Sarajevo via Tuzla depart at 1000, 1200, and 1500." After eight hours on the road, we arrive in Banja Luka.

The city lies in total darkness. The 200,000 Banja Lukans and 18,000 refugees have had electricity only sporadically since June. Candles are the most sought-after article here. The central heating system is not working either, and a bag of wood costs around 12,000 at the local market. In a city where the average wage is 60,000 dinars and pensions are much lower, the list of misfortunes is very long.

"The general situation in the city is a consequence of the war that is being waged around it. Today, Banja Luka is practically the logistical center for the borderland front," the top man in Banja Luka Opstina, Predrag Radic, says in an interview with NIN.

The biggest problems have to do with the lack of electric energy. Demand ranges from 90 to 129 megawatts, but nine megawatts are available. High-priority consumers are the only ones getting electricity right now: the hospital, the dairy, and the bakery, but part of it also goes to industry. The citizens get electricity every 23d day for several hours, so they can bathe, Radic says.

As a result of this situation, the borderland economy is dying. At present, only 8 percent of the prewar economy is functioning, primarily the food industry and some of the factories that can operate on power generators, such as the "Bosna" Shoe Plant. Naturally, 20,000 employees are paying the price of this situation. Seventy percent of them are waiting.

"Fortunately, our capacities have not been destroyed, so that if a normal supply of electric energy were established, Krajina could provide a number of finished products," Radic asserts. The potentials are big: "Rudi Cajavec," the "Jelsingrad" Machine Tool Plant, "Incel" Furniture, "Vitaminka," and numerous other economic giants that would make it possible to end the practice of exporting raw materials.

Banja Luka is not at war, but the Banja Lukans are. Invalids on its streets, death certificates all over the city, armed and uniformed young people. There have been 20,000 people mobilized from this city.

Hiding From Soldiers

An ambulance stops in front of the Clinical Hospital Center [KBC], now the central military hospital. Milenko Telic is carried in on a stretcher. He was wounded on the Teslic battlefield, near the town of Kriz. He was going for water, he says, and fragments from a shell that fell next to him inflicted serious wounds to his arms and chest. There are currently 261 wounded people in the hospital.

"Over the last 10 months, 14,000 wounded people have been treated at this hospital. We have administered 24,760 anesthetics," says Assistant Prof. Dr. Milijan Kalausevic, the head of the Institute for Anesthesia and Reanimation of the KBC. "The conditions under which we work are difficult."

There is a problem with bed capacity. There are no drugs.... The biggest shortages are of anesthetics, infusion equipment, nitrous oxide....

"The hospital covers the area of Kupres, Mrkonjic-Grad, Donji Vakuf, Petrovac, Prnjavor, and Brcko," says Dr. Kalausevic, adding that each of the three surgical teams was in the field during the fiercest fighting. He has nothing to say about the minimal income that they receive for working day and night without rest.

A curfew is in effect in Banja Luka from 2200 to 0500. All bars and restaurants close at 1900, but the streets are deserted by the first evening hours.

"In the darkness anyone can shoot at anyone else, and afterwards it is difficult to establish who fired at whom," says opstina president Radic. This is confirmed by the public security service. According to their records, of 6,227 criminal acts only half of the cases have been solved. But, they say at the service, the results are satisfying enough. Murders are increasingly commonplace; 52 were recorded last year. Those in charge of maintaining order explain this rise in crime is a consequence of wartime horrors and drunkenness, and the only thing that they can advise the citizens is not to provoke soldiers, because, as Radic says, "they do not need much excuse to fire their weapons."

Technically, the opstina assembly in this city is still multiethnic and multiparty. But not for long, judging from what the leading people in the opstina have to say. Aside from the argument that areas in the former Yugoslavia should be ethnically cleansed, and that it will be hard to explain to SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] committee members that this is not the case in Zenica, Bihac, and Tuzla, areas with a majority Muslim population, there appear to be signs that the Trebinje scenario could repeat itself here very quickly. This is confirmed by what representatives of the Croat and Muslim nations in Banja Luka have to say.

Hard Life for Others

"The terror against the non-Serb population began with the changing of street names, and continued with job

firings and attacks against Muslim-and Croat-owned stores and property. We have counted a total of 400 explosions at stores owned by non-Serbs. They have been killing us with impunity for a year now. Muslims or Croats are often killed on the street in broad daylight. In the most brutal manner. Some have had their throats cut. The majority of these murders remain unsolved. Every day there are burglaries and people ejected from their homes, literally with all their things," says Muharem Krzic, the chairman of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] for Banja Luka.

According to official figures, before the war began this city was around 15 percent Muslim with the same number of Croats. Today no one has any exact figures. It is known that a large number have been expelled. "For Muslims, the curfew means open season on our people," says Krzic. He recalls that there have been days when several hundred people, including women, with permits to move around have been arrested, and that they have been beaten up with no explanation. A frightened Muslim woman from Banja Luka tells us that every day she gets telephone calls with threats like "Why don't you move, Turk?" Neither she nor a young man from the village of Seher, with a majority Muslim population, want to give their names. He talks about restrictions on movement. "At control points, armed Serb soldiers do not let us take milk to the market. But that is our only way of surviving, because we have no income. Even if we do get it to the market, they take it from us."

We heard similar testimony from the leader of the Banja Luka HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], Nikola Gabelic. "Parties are not officially banned, we even have office space, nor can one say that repression against party members is greater, at least not here. In other places near Banja Luka, HDZ chairmen have either been killed or have fled. I personally have not suffered any major unpleasantness, but it is not unknown that 15 Croats have been killed, and all of them were in civilian clothes and unarmed. Out of pure hatred or revenge. Some were killed in a situation where their houses were first raided and looted, and then they were killed. One woman was killed because she refused to open the door for them. The authorities officially distance themselves from such killing, but not a single case has been solved thus far. Life is very hard for the Croats, and in recent times it has in fact been unbearable. The most vital part of the people is in exile, and some of them are under house arrest."

Pale Does Not Return Money

Under a directive from the opstina authorities in Banja Luka a year ago, all those who did not respond to mobilization lost their jobs, but this also applied to all working members of their families. Naturally, the largest numbers of these people were Croats and Muslims. Today, in the general misery that is bearing down on the city, they are paying the highest price. Without the possibility of health care, without income, with the opportunity to travel. Their presence is in turn a "thorn in the side of the local population." "While our sons are dying at the front and they are expelling our people, the balijas [derogatory term for Muslim] are free to move around here," Stana tells us. The status of those who responded to the mobilization call-up is no better, says Banja Luka Muslim leader Krzic.

"At first, they had a certain privileged position. They got a supplement and food, wood. Now all of that has disappeared. Indeed, unlike their Serb fellow soldiers, they return from the front with only a spoon. They are not allowed to take their weapon home."

This is what life is like today in the city right behind the front lines, weighted down by misery and poverty, with half-empty stores and cold houses. Nevertheless, people here insist that the difficult economic reality is not only a consequence of the wartime conditions. The charges that Banja Lukans in prewar Bosnia levelled at the central government have not yet been forgotten, and others have followed. This time, they have been levelled at the leadership in Pale.

General Misery

Banja Luka has regularly met the obligations that it has toward the joint treasury of the Serbian Republic. Crumbs are all that come back. Thus, payments from the budget, including pensions, are several months late. According to Mira Erceg, a member of the administrative board of the Clinical Hospital Center, the "republican treasury" owes that institution 3.18 billion dinars. The anger is even greater since this city paid out 600 million dinars in December alone.

The situation with pensioners is similar. During the last month of last year, 1.2 billion dinars were paid into the republican pension fund. Instead of the pensions, which for all Banja Luka pensioners total 613 million dinars, what remains is the hope that a pension check could be expected only after 20 February.

There have also been other attempts to subordinate Banja Luka to Sokoc, Pale, or other places which, people here insist, objectively cannot possibly be the center of the republic. Nor has there been any lack of financial-political tension concerning the construction of a power line from Obrovac to Sanica, near Kljuc. Banja Lukans say that the construction of that energy system has been delayed to a large degree because the "Serbian Republic Electric Power" public enterprise, headquartered in Pale, did not provide the necessary approval in time. Wishing to settle this and a series of other controversial issues with the government of the Serbian Republic, the Banja Lukans sent an invitation to the new prime minister, Dr. Vladimir Lukic, and his colleagues to visit this city. Hoping, as the chairman of the Executive Committee of the SO [Serbian Opstina of] Banja Luka, Rajko Kasagic, said, that "the government will demonstrate in practice that it is more interested in the people than in power."

Until then, it appears that images of people digging through trash cans trying to find food, grieving soldiers returning from the front, and houses with nothing to give children to eat will continue to be everyday scenes in Banja Luka.

Tudjman Asks INA Manager To Form New Government

LD2903135293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Nikica Valentic, manager of INA [Industrije Nafta] oil company, the largest state-owned company in Croatia, was today entrusted by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman with the mandate to form the new Croatian Government.

Tudjman made the decision after he had accepted the resignation of the former Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic and the members of his cabinet.

The prime minister designate will probably appoint some new people as ministers, as has been predicted in the press, but it is not impossible that some of the members of Sarinic's cabinet will stay in the government.

According to unofficial information, Gojko Susak, the defense minister; Ivan Jarnjak, the minister of internal affairs; and Mate Granic, the former deputy prime minister, are likely to remain in the cabinet.

Biography of New Premier

LD2903174393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Summary] Croatian prime minister-designate Nikica Valentic was born in Gospic in 1950. He is of Croatian nationality. Lawyer by profession, he worked as the editor of a lawyers' magazine and as the head of the legal department of a civil engineering company. He founded a successful civil engineering consulting firm, where he worked until 1983. After that he set up his own legal practice. Since 1990 he has been the general manager of the INA oil company, the largest state owned company in Croatia.

He is a member of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union, and its deputy in the parliament.

Serb Daily: Croats Supplying Germany With Nuclear Weapons

LD2903191593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 29 (TANJUG)—The price that the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has to pay for Germany's ardent assistance in gaining international recognition following its secession from the former Yugoslavia includes its secret supply of Germany with nuclear weapons, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes on Monday [29 March].

The recent reports that over 200 kilograms of enriched Uranium reached Zagreb from Ukraine, only confirms the forecasts that a complete nuclear line, including nuclear warheads, would be produced in Croatia. It is well-known that experts of the Nuclear Energy Institute Rudjer Boskovic in Zagreb have been trained abroad for such tasks, writes the daily.

Croatia, affected by a deep economic crisis, does not have enough money to buy as big an amount of Uranium as this, let alone to finance a full nuclear programme, POLITIKA EKSPRES explains.

Tudjman Reportedly Wants To Regain Territories

LD2603221993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2014 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 26 (TANJUG)—President of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman has said that it must regain the territories now under U.N. protection.

"Our task is to establish the constitutional order also on 22 percent of the temporarily occupied Croatian territory" a statement released on Friday [26 March] quoted Tudjman as saying during his talks in Zagreb on Thursday with a group of Russian journalists.

The territory in point is the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), a state community of Serbs proclaimed after Croatia's decision to secede from the former Yugoslavia and to downgrade the Serb people to a national minority.

Since Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia, Croatian leaders have threatened the Serbs in the R.S.K. with establishing Croatian authority on their territory "by hook or by crook."

That the use of force is a more likely choice was proved by the fact that Croatia has not yet halted its aggression launched, without any provocation, on the R.S.K. on January 22 this year. The R.S.K. was put under U.N. protection until a political solution for that region of former Yugoslavia has been reached.

Serbs Report Prison Camps in Split, Sibenik, Pag

LD2603173193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1704 GMT 26 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, March 26 (TANJUG)—Reliable sources and verified reports indicate that there are camps for Serbs in the Croatian port-cities of Split and Sibenik and on the island of Pag, said a statement by the General Staff of the army of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The General Staff has asked international humanitarian organizations to do their utmost to protect these imprisoned Serbs, said the statement.

The statement further said that the Croatian side kept refusing to answer all proposals by the Serb command to exchange prisoners through the mediation of international organizations. The Serb side is offering 26

Croatian Army troops, including eight Moslems, who have been in prison in Knin for some time, waiting to be exchanged.

The Croatian side also refuses to discuss the exchange of bodies of Croatian soldiers buried in Benkovac or Knin, in the republic of Serb Krajina. The soldiers were killed in Croatia's offensive on Krajina which began on January 22 this year.

The statement also said that Croatian Forces today opened strong artillery fire and fire from tanks and mortars on Serb positions around Biograd and on the Zadar-Benkovac line.

Serb fighters prevented an attempt of another Croatian Army subversive-terrorist group to infiltrate the Sibenik-Drnis line south of Knin, the center of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The General Staff said that Croatian Forces were continuing to blow up the remaining Serb houses in the village of Miksici in the region of Kordun in northwest Krajina so that the Serb families could never return to their homes.

RSK Justice Minister Against Military Courts

93BA0700E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 93 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Minister of Justice Against Military Courts"]

[Text] In a letter to the highest institutions of the Krajina government, Vojin Susa, minister of justice in the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina] government, rejected the legitimacy of military courts, demanding that the existing military judicial bodies be disbanded and that responsibility be determined for "individuals who are acting unconstitutionally and illegally." According to Minister Susa's interpretation, after the RSK president's decision on declaring a state of war on 22 January 1993, the republic president, in accordance with Article 78, Paragraph 1, Section 77 of the Krajina constitution, adopted several decrees with legal force in the area of justice, which, Susa thinks, regulate judicial practice in the current situation.

"At this time military judicial bodies cannot be formed, because there is no legal basis for it, and the existence of illegally formed military judicial bodies can lead to the complete collapse of the already established judicial system," Minister Susa wrote.

The minister of justice referred in particular to the activity of the military courts in Banija, which are subordinate to the main Banija military command (also recalling in this regard the 19 February article in POLITIKA), demanding that they be disbanded. According to the news coming from Banija these days, the military courts in this region have achieved great successes in uncovering and sanctioning various war speculators and smugglers who are "trading" with the Muslims in the Cazin Krajina.

Budisa on Liberal Tradition, Press

93BA0720B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 16-18

[Interview with Drazen Budisa, leader of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, by Hloverka Novak-Srzic; place and date not given: "Starcevic Was Also a Liberal"]

[Text] Drazen Budisa says that he does not like to give interviews. However, right at the outset of the interview with DANAS, he apologizes. He says he has already given an interview to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and Jelena Lovric. He had promised them earlier, and he did not want to refuse DANAS, lest, he says, it be taken the wrong way. Because we talked just before the paper went to bed, the "most conservative" among the Liberals consented, though with a heavy heart, to publication of the interview without having seen and edited it.

[Novak-Srzic] Mr. Budisa, you recently stated that the Liberals could become the ruling party even in the next election. What in that case would liberalism change in Croatia?

[Budisa] To answer that question, we would have to know what Croatia will look like in three and a half years, when that election will be held. Accordingly, it is too early to say what we would change when the election takes place and when we win.

[Novak-Srzic] You reproached me for the statement that liberalism does not have a tradition in Croatia.

[Budisa] Certainly. My opinion is exactly the opposite. Had it not been for liberalism, there would be no modern Croatian nation. Liberalism does indeed have a tradition in Croatia. Let us not equate the absence of a tradition of liberal parties with the supposed nonexistence of a liberal tradition. For example, to go no further, the two key political persons in the 19th and 20th centuries in Croatian politics were the Liberals Ante Starcevic and Stjepan Radic. Take Ante Starcevic and read what he thinks about freedom of the press or about religious tolerance. Stjepan Radic was also a Liberal. What the Rightists were in the 19th century, people with firm Croatian convictions, but a liberal stance, the members of the HSS [Croatian Peasant Party] were in the first half of the 20th century, and that is what the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party] is today. So, firm Croatian views, but liberal ideas. I cannot agree at all with your opinion, and let us not equate the fact that there are no traditions of liberal parties with traditions of liberalism in Croatia. Finally, there were no Croatian democratic unions either before the war or in the 19th century.

[Novak-Srzic] When you refer to Radic and his liberalism, is this not an appeal for cooperation with the HSS people, who after the zupanija elections became the third party in Croatia?

[Budisa] The planning of cooperation with the HSS began long ago, two or three years ago, with a number of initiatives that came from the ranks of the HSS and the HSLS. We thought at that time, and also today, that we have similar political programs, similar outlooks, it is just that we cover different segments of the population. Both parties are parties of the political center. We continue to be interested in cooperation with the HSS, and we feel that cooperation between the HSS and HSLS would be altogether natural.

[Novak-Srzic] How can that be when according to certain divisions the HSLS is a party of the left and the HSS a party of the right center? It is interesting, incidentally, that today almost every Croatian party says that it is a party of the center.

[Budisa] That is the definition of the president of the republic, assigning the HSLS the position of the left center. Fine, for us this is still relative and acceptable. However, it is unacceptable when he attempts to classify us on the left, which Mr. Sokol recently stated with the thought that the HSLS should cover the space of the Social Democratic Party [SDP]. That certainly will not pass. Not only because the HSLS will not enter the space assigned it, but because that is not our space either on the basis of our programmatic orientation or on the basis of the makeup of our membership. The HSLS is a political party of the center. To be sure, there are factions in it, orientations which might be identified as somewhat to the left or to the right, but as a whole we are a political party of the center which wants to see a Social Democratic Party to the left of itself, because we will never cover that space, that is not our space.

[Novak-Srzic] There have been announcements to the effect that the party will change its name.

[Budisa] Among our members, there are people who are inclined to dropping the adjective "social" from our name, although they do not think that we should cease to be a party interested in social welfare if we change our name. Those tensions were strongest a year and a half ago. Recently, I have not noticed anyone mentioning this, which is probably related to the fact that social welfare issues are becoming increasingly important because of our economic situation and social problems, but also because the Liberals in Denmark, for example, have a party with the same name. Accordingly, we are not unified concerning social liberalism, this is not some rigid iron rule. The propositions of social liberalism were formulated 20 years ago in Frankfurt, and that is not anything exceptional among the liberal parties in Europe. So, we will not change our name. We call ourselves the Croatian Social Liberal Party, and we would therefore like your editors and collaborators, as well as the president of the republic, to call us the Croatian Social Liberal Party, and not to leave out the first part of our name. That would be the same as our referring to the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] as merely the Democratic Union.

[Novak-Srzic] Some people say that the Liberals have one of the best propaganda departments. The ethics code of the HSLS, which has just been adopted, is also mentioned in that context; it sounds more like propaganda and demagogy than actually laying down any new rules of behavior among politicians. The only thing that is specific has to do with the requirement of making the property of public officials public before and after their term of office. All the rest can already be prosecuted under the law, such as taking bribes in the form of gifts, tax evasion, realizing personal gain, etc.

[Budisa] Now that you have mentioned the ethics code, I suggest that you publish it and let your readers have an occasion to evaluate whether this is propaganda or precise obligations for people who are elected or are on the slates of the HSLS as our members. But fine, let us stick just to what you have mentioned. You think that that is not very much, especially under these circumstances, for all public officials before taking office to make public or file within their party or in some government body a list of their property and then file a new inventory of property after they have served, so that we see what they have gained in the meantime? Even if we had done no more than that, that would have been something significant. I hope that you will agree with me that the erosion of ethics in public affairs has assumed disturbing dimensions. We think that it is possible to put an end to that only if we begin to clear up things from the top level of politics on down, not through a campaign in the form of guidelines and finding certain scapegoats who will suffer now, but everything will remain the same. We have no specific data. You know all of the things that are rumored. To stop those rumors and to clear the names of people who hold public office and who have been talked about on the street, I think it would be good to reconcile their property, from the president of the republic and all the people who surround him in the presidential office, members of the government, our deputies in the Croatian Assembly, on down to the lower level.

[Novak-Srzic] You say in the code that politicians must not accept gifts. Well, that is presumably taken for granted.

[Budisa] You think that is taken for granted?

[Novak-Srzic] That is the case with us journalists. I do not know how it is with you politicians.

[Budisa] When we were adopting that code, we consulted several similar codes from other countries, as we do as a rule on the more important documents. Among others, we looked at President Clinton's code. In the United States, a politician must not accept a gift worth more than $20, and that is less than the 100 marks which we

set down in the code. I was told this by Ivo Skrabalo. Did Clinton and his advisers do that to win propaganda points?

[Novak-Srzic] What is your comment on the poor results of the HSLS in Istria?

[Budisa] I think there are three reasons. The first is the policy of the HDZ in Istria, which is why we did poorly. Because of the HDZ, a certain aversion to all parties which have the H for Croatia in their title has been created there. The second is the IDS [Istrian Democratic Alliance] exploitation for propaganda purposes of the fact that our branch in Opatija entered into an election coalition with the HDZ. They did not say that our people in Opatija entered into a coalition with the HDZ on their own. The man who favored that action in Opatija has now submitted his resignation in a meeting of the Grand Council. The IDS exploited that to the maximum, in certain places even waging more of a propaganda campaign against the HSLS than against the HDZ. And the third reason is that we did not have enough money to mount a greater presence in the election campaign in Istria. We could not keep up with either the IDS or the HDZ in the number of posters, ads, animated films.... In any case, because the HSLS took a relatively modest 14 percent of the vote in Istria in August, and now slightly more than 10 percent of the vote, this is not such a terrible drop as it is being portrayed.

[Novak-Srzic] Could you explain to us your party's proposal about creating an alliance of zupanijas that would independently join associations of European regions?

[Budisa] Croatia, for example, is in the Alps-Adriatic Community. It entered that community while it was part of the Yugoslav state. Because Croatia has become an independent state, it could not have the status of a region in regional associations. We are no longer a region. Croatia could be treated as a region while it was part of the Yugoslav state. Now that it is an independent state, it cannot have the same status, for example, as Bavaria in regional alliances. That was our motive in proposing an alliance of zupanijas.

[Novak-Srzic] Why is it that in this election the HSLS did not put forth any candidate for Drnis, when you yourself come from Drnis?

[Budisa] Because we do not know what we would do if we took power which we could not exercise. There were no people in the HSLS who were willing to be reduced to a visit of Croats to graves on All Souls' Day.... That might be called a lack of responsibility, but the local government in Drnis cannot liberate Drnis, but this can only be done by the central government by diplomatic or military moves. Until that time, I ask you, what would we do, that is, what would we do if we were elected in the occupied parts of Croatia?

[Novak-Srzic] The Grand Council of the HSLS has also debated SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. Is that because of your member Dodig, who is a member of the Board of Directors, or because of media freedoms in general?

[Budisa] We discussed it mostly because our member, who at the same time is a vice president of the party, Mr. Dodig, is a member of the Board of Directors of SLOBODAN DALMACIJA. We have already said that we do not stand behind that role of his, and we can repeat that. We do not think that it is our task to repeat that every day, which is what SLOBODAN DALMACIJA is demanding. But I think that just as SLOBODAN DALMACIJA thinks it has the right to autonomous transformation, so the members of the HSLS have the right to an independent decision. We will not undertake any effort to penalize Mr. Dodig because I do not agree with his being a member of the Board of Directors of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, as some would like. We do not have party commissions in the HSLS.

We are against all that is happening in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, and we feel that the departure of this editorial board—regardless of our opinion about its editorial policy and about the various members—would be highly detrimental to Croatia. I hope that the culmination of this process will be an assembly held on 11 March, that it will elect a new leadership, and that the mandate of Vice President Dodig will come to an end, and that this editorial board and editorial policy will remain. After all, whatever we think about the editorial policy, it is a fact that SLOBODNA DALMACIJA has become a kind of litmus paper for testing the position of the Croatian Government toward freedom of the media. Thanks both to the agility of the people on SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and the fact that the government was not ready for it.

[Novak-Srzic] What do you think about the freedom of the media in Croatia?

[Budisa] I would say that up to this point we have followed some descending line with respect to freedom of the media as compared to the situation after the first democratic election, and perhaps even on the eve of it. At the same time, I have the impression that that downward trajectory has been halted, especially in the last two months. Nevertheless, on the whole, I am not satisfied with the media, but it is far from my being able to say that they do not have their freedoms in Croatia. For example, I can say whatever I like. In this connection, I am not forgetting that at one time there was a court ban on my speaking, nor the fact that my name could not be favorably mentioned for 19 years. And today we are being read lectures about the freedom of the media by people who took part in the repression. Unfortunately, the picture people in the world have about the freedom of the media in Croatia is a lot worse than the actual situation.

It is my experience, especially in the recent past, that foreign newsmen from friendly countries come to Croatia with the intention of strengthening that picture that has been given. But we dare not overlook the need to

find an alibi for the ineffectiveness of international factors toward Serbian aggression by making Croatia look bad and by equating the responsibility of the two sides. Nor will I ignore a third factor—people who take advantage of every occasion to reinforce that bad picture. The other day, I had a quarrel with a newspaperwoman from Germany. During the interview, I realized that she had come to put questions in order to reinforce that picture of Croatia, because along with a number of critical remarks, whenever I said anything favorable, she would reply that that did not interest her. And my statement in LA REPUBBLICA is another example of this. I talked to their newsman. It was not an interview. In the conversation, I enumerated the reasons why privatization is slow in Croatia, I said that there are still remnants of the old mentality here, and that newsman immediately associated the old mentality with President Tudjman. I would never make such a statement, it is neither my style nor my vocabulary. The word bolshevik is one I have never used in public.

[Novak-Srzic] One of the problems which unites the entire opposition, except perhaps the HSS, against the incumbent party is the Croatian policy toward B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina]. On several occasions, you have set forth your view that B-H should be unified, that you favor an alliance with the Muslims, that you oppose cantonization, because then the Serbian state would come within reach of Zagreb. Have your views remained the same?

[Budisa] I try to express myself precisely on all topics on which I think at least that I can express myself precisely, but especially when B-H is concerned. When my statements and views on B-H are analyzed, then the first thing one should see is what the statement pertains to and at what moment and in what context it was made. Everything has happened in B-H in the last two or three years, and we have presented our views according to the conditions as they have changed. I think that a statement of mine against cantonization might be found, but quite certainly accompanied by something more concerning the regional organization of B-H. Accordingly, I never said that B-H should be governed solely as a state of citizens, but I did not like the expression canton. Perhaps in fact because it was launched by Serbian propaganda, and we took it up. It seems to me with respect to B-H, and all the rest, that the Croatian strategy should be based precisely on opposing the proposals of the Milosevic regime, and then we cannot be wrong. Because as soon as we find solutions in Milosevic's proposals, then we are on the wrong road, experience demonstrates that. As a matter of fact, I said during your program on Independent TV that we should support the draft constitution for B-H even if we did not agree with all its provisions.

[Novak-Srzic] You are referring to the Vance-Owen draft of the constitution?

[Budisa] Yes. I am referring to the draft which contains the provision about all three nationalities being constituent entities and to the nine principles which we supported as a party in the election campaign.

[Novak-Srzic] You actually supported the draft of the constitution which Mate Boban is also supporting today in the negotiations?

[Budisa] That is a draft which is now being supported by Mate Boban as well. Yes. But that does not mean that I am praising Mate Boban. It is to their credit that Boban and even President Tudjman have been adaptable as new conditions have arisen, and so among other things we have been able to see the readiness of the Croatian Government to accept principles for the constitutional arrangement of B-H and for its regional division. However, one should be cautious in taking practical steps. For example, one of the major mistakes was the decision of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] to bring units of the B-H Army under the command of the HVO in all three provinces which would belong to the Croatian people, after which, but not only for that reason, there was a conflict between Muslims and Croats. I also consider harmful this most recent decision to halt vehicles carrying equipment to the B-H Army.

My opinion about B-H has not changed. I have always taken the view of a unified and independent state of B-H designed according to the nine principles mentioned and on the principles of regionalism and provinces. I think that that proposal, including the maps of Vance and Owen, suits the Croatian people. I hope that if this causes their dissatisfaction, that the Muslims will nevertheless listen to the advice of Jasser Arafat: Take what is offered you and bring people back. I am certain that if this plan is realized, that we cannot realize the interests of the Croatian people without cooperating with the Muslims.

[Novak-Srzic] The Muslims have taken a different road than the Croats hoped for.

[Budisa] Yes, they have, but we must ask how much we helped them to take that road which we did not want. First, we flattered them as the "flower" and a part of the Croatian corpus, we are still organizing governmental symposiums for them which end in conclusions that the ideal picture of Croatia is for the mosques and churches to be together, while at the same time we cannot deny that there have been both ugly moves and very ugly statements. What does it mean when a Croatian newsman makes fun of the bowing of the Muslims? This is the same as if someone were to make fun because the Croats cross themselves. There have been many mistakes on our side as well, but we should do everything to remove all the reasons for disagreements and conflicts between Croats and Muslims.

[Novak-Srzic] Following the August presidential election, you said in an interview that foreign embassies wanted you to win. Why?

[Budisa] The truth is that both then and today many ambassadors have expressed an affinity for the HSLS. On several occasions they have wished us success. Why is that the case? Well, I think that the domestic policy of Croatia is first of all not to the liking of the citizens of Croatia, nor even to our most convinced friends.

[Novak-Srzic] Judging by the election results, one would not say that this applies to the citizens of Croatia, but only to the foreign ambassadors.

[Budisa] I know pretty much to what you are alluding. I believe that that dissatisfaction pertains above all to domestic policy, and that is why they were looking for an alternative. Nevertheless, the president of the republic has shown himself to be too cooperative when it comes to the expectations of the international community, but if the foreign ambassadors thought that the HSLS was the party that would be still more cooperative, then perhaps they were not wrong. Only if they thought that we would be more cooperative on the fundamental issues of preserving and strengthening the Croatian state, in which case their assessments are erroneous.

Status of 'Croatian Right' Viewed

93BA0708E Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 93 pp 20-21

[Article by Miljenko Manjkas: "Narcissists in the Rightist Mirror"]

[Text] In answer to the question of the political positions they represent in the political or party constellation at the moment, the leaders of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], the HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Party], and the HSS [Croatian Independent Party], the three strongest Croatian parties, all respond: "We are a party of the center." To be sure, the Croatian Democratic Union is the center because it is the incumbent party, and it is also a classic populist party. If we want to determine the deviation of the HSLS from the center, it will shade leftward because of its partners in the coalition and the pronounced social welfare element. It is precisely in view of the latter that the HSS remains a party of the center. If we add to that the single seat of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] in the Zupanija Chamber of the Croatian Assembly, the question arises of where the Croatian right is today.

Of the four parties on the right, one took part in the last zupanija election, and the other three had differing reasons for not taking part. Paraga's Rightists boycotted the elections on grounds that they were undemocratic because the election commissions were not multiparty, although the results at the local level adverse for the HDZ showed exactly the opposite. The National Democrats [HNDL] were formally prevented because of difficulties registering the party. But according to Ivan Vekic, its leader, the party would not have taken part in the election even if it had not had formal problems, because it considered them premature. The reason why Gabelica's Pure Rightists did not participate was exclusively formal in nature, because they did not even register on time. The nonparticipation of these parties was the basic reason why Pavelic's Democratic Rightists changed their original decision about not taking part in the election. Nevertheless, the results were devastating for the right. The sole Rightist option received less than 1.5 percent of the vote in Zagreb, which is the only place where it took part in the election to the Zupanija Chamber.

Those parties which did not take part in the election used it for promotional purposes. All three leaders, that is, unanimously concluded that the entire electorate that did not go to the polls belonged to the Rightists. The nonsensical nature of that calculation is proven first of all by the disastrous results of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party] at the local level, in those places where their chapters decided not to boycott the election. The Rightists received fewer votes than last year, and one-tenth as many as forecast if they had taken part in the election. Although the Rightist leaders attempted to speculate that the success of the HSS should be associated with the nonparticipation of the Rightist parties in the election, the absurdity of those arguments is confirmed by the datum that no one considered the 25-percent abstinence in the August elections, when there was no boycott, anything abnormal, nor was it attributed to any party. Finally, that percentage represents the average voter abstinence in West Europe. Only when the Rightists admit to themselves that the reason for that abstinence is that the electorate is apolitical and saturated can they begin to think realistically about the reasons for the failure of the Croatian right.

The Rightists will have to face the fact that a party which takes the law as its fundamental value must place both the interests of the community and of the state ahead of the personal interest. Just as such parties have their stable place with the moral option in the advanced Western democracies, only then will the right increase its influence and also its election results.

Why has that option experienced defeat in Croatia? The first reason lies in the disunited nature of the conservative option centering on the state and the law. The Croatian Rights Party, which, as the strongest Rightist party, should have been an integrative factor, by establishing the paramilitary HOS [Croatian Defense Force], by extenuating Ustasha iconography, and by compromising Croatia in the world out of a desire for power, has acted contrary to its fundamental principle of statehood. It has mostly the vanity and leaderism of its leadership to "thank" for that. In an attempt to correct the reputation of the right, Kresimir Pavelic, leader of the HDSP [Croatian Democratic Rights Party] has been accused of being the long arm of the HDZ, which even he himself, as he told us, does not want to deny, and the HNDL [Croatian National Democratic League] and HCSP [Croatian Pure Rights Party] had too little time to put themselves forward.

In spite of everything, the right-wing-oriented electorate is putting the question whether now, after the defeat in

the election, the self-satisfaction and fanaticism of the four Rightist "clubs" will grow into more serious political activity. Judging by their present view of politics, their objectives and their relationship to one another, there is no prospect of that. Although all four parties want to unite in principle, the differences between them seem insurmountable.

The Croatian Rights Party considers itself a conservative civil party based exclusively on the legality of the state. The Croatian National Democratic League, on the other hand, emphasizes elements of morality, religion, and culture which are supposed to give it the profile of a neoconservative party, that is, a party of the Croatian right whose operating methods are supposed to be more subtle than the nationalistic folklore of the HSP. Pavelic finds all that to be too radical. While all three of these options are considered right-wing and conservative, the Croatian Pure Rights Party negates rightism as such. Its leader, Ivan Gabelica, so he says, favors the philosophy of rightism, but not of any kind of right taken from the European example. If we add to this Pavelic's having charged the National Democrats with communism, and the HSP of extremism, and the old grudges between Paraga and Pavelic, it seems that unification of the Rightists is far off.

What possibly seems realistic is creation of a right-wing bloc consisting of the HSP and HNDL, but still with individual identities firmly retained. Voters committed to the right will have to wait for a complete unification of the Croatian right until the love of power relents and until their political leaders get serious. After all, how can one call parties anything but frivolous when they certainly do have a serious electorate, but they are unable to become a mechanism through which that electorate becomes articulate.

Dobroslav Paraga, HSP: We Are Not Greedy Like the Liberals

Foreign observers judged that the elections nevertheless were not at the level of the European standard because there were no multiparty election commissions. That is why the next elections will be bielections, and the HSP will take part in them, because then our demands, which are also the demands of democratic Europe, will be fulfilled.

We are convinced that it is our nonparticipation in the election that motivated foreign observers to demand multiparty election commissions. In this way, the HSP contributed considerably more to the development of democracy in Croatia than if it had greedily, like the Liberals, jumped into this rigged game.

Because of the HSP boycott, between 30 and 40 percent of the voters did not vote, which proves that if the HSP had taken part, it would have won a plurality. Those Rightists who did take part in the election gave their votes to the Croatian opposition, aware that the HDZ is the main obstacle to the establishment of democracy in Croatia.

As a conservative civil party, the HSP is open exclusively to authentic Rightists, not to careerists or presidents who have no other members than their immediate family and a fax machine.

Kresimir Pavelic, HDSP: The Right Is Blindly Following the Left

The Croatian Democratic Rights Party took part in the last elections more symbolically than really, as is evident from the fact that we put forth a slate for the Zupanija Chamber only for the city of Zagreb. We did not take part in the elections in the other zupanijas for organizational and financial reasons.

The reason for the poor political representation of the right in Croatia lies above all in the heterogeneity of the Croatian right. The left has already unified for all practical purposes. The parties of the center, like the HDZ, HSLS, and HSS, have established their political contours, but the democratic right is still in a stage of ferment.

But a certain polarization can be seen on the Croatian right. Advocates of the harsh line of the HSP and HNDL are establishing ties. On the other hand, there soon could be a unification of the moderate democratic right.

For the moment, there can be no unification of the HDSP and HSP, because those parties are headed by individuals who favor violence as the sole means of resolving political issues, while unification with the HCSP depends on them. We in Croatia must have a right which after an election is able to enter into a coalition with the parties of the center.

Ivan Vekic, HNDL: A Right-Wing Bloc Is the Issue of the Day

Our participation in the election was not technically possible. The party's registration took on the dimensions of a political scandal. But aside from that, we would not have participated in the election because it is intolerable for people in exile to elect a government-in-exile, one which will discharge its obligations for regions which are under occupation. The prematureness of the election is indicated by the 30 percent who deliberately abstained. Those right-wing voters place their confidence partly in the HSS and partly in the HDZ, which is a consequence of the action in the Zadar hinterland. If the right wing had taken an organized part in the election, it would have been realistic to expect about 20 percent of the vote, because radicalism is the option of the brave. Conservatism is more favorable than liberalism for a small people, because the latter atomizes the community into separate individuals. The most immoral human act is to be free of an obligation to the community.

If this kind of political stalemate persists, the right will have an election called ahead of time. When I say the right, I am thinking of a joint effort by a right-wing bloc, which is the issue of the day. The HNDL and HSP have

organized work groups which are preparing the fundamental principles of an effort by a right-wing bloc in which the parties would not for the present give up their identity.

Ivan Gabelica, HCSP: The Rightists Are Not Right-Wingers

Although even two months ago they were saying in the Ministry of Justice and Administration that we had completely satisfied the law and that it was only a question of the day when the justice minister would sign the decision on registration, the HCSP is still not registered. By holding back the registration, by its dictatorial acts, our present government prevented us from taking part in the election. I am convinced that citizens with a Rightist orientation who did vote nevertheless voted more for the HSS than for the HSLS because the Liberals entered into a coalition with the Communists, and that kind of coalition is unacceptable to any Rightist. The philosophy of rightism is not the philosophy of some right-wing party according to the European model. That is why I am not thinking, it does not even occur to me, about unification with any right-wing political parties, but I am thinking about unification of all the Rightists into one party. That is why I use this occasion to call upon them for unity. The Croatian Pure Rights Party is therefore always open to everyone.

I am specifically thinking of the HSP, because they bear the historical responsibility as to whether rightism will unify today or not. The disunity of Rightists means a weaker Croatia and less justice and freedom within it.

Country's Social Program Detailed

93BA0720D Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 5-6

[Article by Ratko Peter: "Stamps Instead of Coupons"]

[Text] The lack of money and misery have penetrated all the pores of life in Our Beautiful Croatia. Prices are rising, real incomes are dropping, people's standard of living is being cut back drastically, there hardly even exists a middle stratum any longer. There is every reason why we should hear more and more frequently the question of whether there is a limit on the social tolerance of the population, which, aware of the difficulty of the situation which is neither war nor peace, is not starting a mass rebellion or social unrest. It is under those circumstances that the government social welfare program has been awaited for quite some time now, a program that would finally deal with the status of the most indigent, although today the definition of indigence has taken on new meanings. That is, as seen by the social welfare program, those people are indigent who with their income, through the use, encumberment, or sale of their property, or on the basis of family solidarity or some other way are unable to meet the basic needs of life. Accordingly, persons with low wages and salaries cannot be social welfare cases, although in formal terms they actually are.

The government's proposal of a social welfare program finally reached the desks of Croatian trade union headquarters the other day. The voluminous material of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare presented to interested institutions the proposal of a program which after consultations and possible criticism, supplements, and modifications should be sent for regular parliamentary procedure. That proposal of a social welfare program contains a survey of the social situation in the country, the measures which the ministry has taken, new measures (certainly the most interesting are the social welfare cards and stamps), and the sources and money necessary to finance the program.

According to the 1991 Population Census, our country has a population of 4,784,265. Within that number, 1,227,505 are employed, not counting those employed in the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the Croatian Army; 797,715 are retired, and 261,050 are unemployed. Croatia has 265,000 persons registered as displaced and 403,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. At the moment, there are 43,000 workers receiving the minimal pay, 180,000 are receiving various material forms of social welfare, there are 34,000 beneficiaries of funds to subsidize rents of tenants and subtenants, 208,414 receive the family supplement, which is being paid for a total of 394,034 children. It is worth mentioning that 3,708 children have lost one or the other parent in the homeland war, 40 of them have lost both parents, and 36 children have been seriously disabled. Also, 23,062 have become disabled in the homeland war, 7,642 were killed in the war, while 13,788 are recorded as missing. We should mention at the end that 22 percent of the territory of the Republic of Croatia lies in the UNPA [UN protected areas], and 4.3 percent in "pink" zones.

Aside from these painful figures, the social picture of Croatia is sketched more than anything by the lines in early January for that little bit of dark bread, the increasing number of the poor and tired in soup kitchens, and the immense segment of the population that is literally on the edge of survival. When we talk about those few who are employed (the labor participation rate in the population of the republic is 1:4, which is markedly unfavorable), we should bear in mind the differences in real income and net worth and set this against the possibility of meeting the basic needs of life. Because the salaries of some employed persons are below the established amount and irregular, many crossed the "poverty line" long ago.

It is obvious that the traditional features of indigents: poverty, unemployment, impaired health, disability, age, and feebleness, are manifested in all strata. What is more, in view of the extremely serious economic and social situation in the country, an increase in the number of indigent people is expected this year. According to an approximate estimate, a million people are indigent. It is thought that more than two-thirds of the unemployed (about 180,000) represent potential welfare cases, and this trend will not change this year. On the contrary,

unless there are increased opportunities for employment, the number of unemployed could reach the figure of 300,000, and that would occur this year, and it is expected that there will be an increase in the number of those receiving compensation from the present 40,100 to 70,500, i.e., of those whose firms are going through bankruptcy proceedings.

In its proposal of a social welfare program, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare proposes certain measures for social welfare policy and also the financing of those measures.

The social welfare program envisages organizing educational activities for 22,500 persons, specifically as follows: 8,000 unemployed and 2,000 persons who are employed must receive professional training, 2,500 unemployed and the same number of employed must go through retraining, 2,000 trainees have to be hired, new jobs have to be found for another 3,500 unemployed, and 2,000 disabled persons have to receive rehabilitation and jobs. Employment security agencies are to be supplied money by the state to carry out this program. The social welfare program calls for adjustment and payment of pensions, just as amounts unpaid on the basis of reindexing and the carried-over pay increases must also be paid. The same applies to adjusting the amount of the family supplement.

The social welfare card is being adopted so that records are more complete on the earmarked and fair use of assistance in money and in kind and to prevent unfair use and abuse. This card will be issued by centers for social work to beneficiaries whom that center finds in need of that card because of their financial situation. The Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare will prescribe the form, content, conditions, and manner of use of the welfare card. Displaced persons and refugees cannot obtain that card.

Assistance in the form of food, clothing, footwear, and, the program states, other material goods will be furnished to the indigent population. Assistance in the form of food is furnished from humanitarian aid in the form of food packages. The value of the package is established according to the size of the household, on the basis of a package worth 20 German marks [DM] for a one-member household, and a further DM20 for each additional member of the family. In establishing the priority for the distribution of those packages, the center for social work will take into account overall financial and social conditions, along with other relevant facts.

Social welfare centers will distribute 70,000 packages a month, and the overhead costs will be divided equally between the national and opcina budget where the supply center is located.

Today, there are 14 soup kitchens operating in the country and providing lunch to about 6,200 people a day. Money from the national budget to open new soup kitchens is planned. The overhead costs are estimated at DM0.5 per meal, and they will also be covered by the opcina and national budgets. Indigent persons will be furnished assistance in clothing and footwear and other material goods, which will come from humanitarian sources.

Certainly the most interesting proposal is adoption of a subsidy for the purchase of dark bread and milk. Those subsidies are to be furnished in money at the level of the market price of the dark bread (flour grade 850) and milk in a PVC container, on the basis of a daily quantity of 0.25 kg of dark bread and 0.25 liter of milk per member of the household. The center for social work would pay the subsidy to the applicant for the household for each month in advance according to the market value of dark bread or milk as of the day when the decision is made on distribution of the subsidy. It is estimated that that subsidy might be used by about 300,000 people. At the present prices of these articles, taking into account other costs, that subsidy would cost DM34,011,720 a year. Whoever receives the subsidy would also obtain the welfare card, and the appropriate stamp would be issued for the qualifying household; without the stamp, it would not be able to buy dark bread and milk. Stores would be required up to a certain time (1000 hours) to sell dark bread exclusively to those who have the stamps, which are canceled at the same time. However, because DM537,120 would have to be set aside every year to manufacture and distribute the stamps, there is also an alternative to that concept.

This subsidy for dark bread and milk, together with manufacturing and distributing the stamps, requires a great deal of money, a special procedure which must be conducted by centers for social work, and it also generates very unfavorable psychological and political consequences. Another solution, then, is being proposed: increasing the relative level of the minimum pay from the present 70 percent to 90 percent of the lowest pay. Taking pay in January as an example, the minimum payment would have been 39,150 dinars instead of 30,500, which is 28.3 percent more. Accordingly, the level of social assistance and compensation which are adjusted to the minimum payment would be increased by the same percentage. It should be emphasized that these larger benefits are nevertheless a smaller outlay than the subsidizing of dark bread and milk, by a difference of DM16,548,840. Money will have to be furnished to carry out the social welfare program from the state and opcina budget as well as money from the contribution paid from income, income taxes, and also material goods from humanitarian sources. It is estimated that DM705,121,335 will have to be allocated for the entire performance of the social welfare program.

In a country destroyed and devastated by war, a country of unpaid bills, undernourished children, hungry pensioners, in a state whose birth rate is dropping seriously, where employees work for DM100 or so and become social welfare cases, it is by no means simple to draw up a quality social welfare program. It is certain that the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare has made a great deal of effort to offer the most acceptable solution for conducting a better-quality social welfare policy. It is just as certain that this proposal of a social welfare program will evoke various reactions both from trade union headquarters and also in meetings of the parliament and government. There is another problem which is much more important than all of this, and that is the economy. That is, plans call for financing this social welfare program mainly from the state and opcina budgets. A full government treasury results from a good and quality economy, which is not the case in Croatia today. That is why this proposal of a social welfare program, however good or bad it might be, depends exclusively on the economy which will be able (or unable) to support it.

[Box, p 5]

Zivko Jurcevic, division chief in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare: Urgent and Targeted

"The most essential thing concerning this social welfare program is that it is an urgent, interventionist, and targeted program. It is aimed above all at those who are most threatened from the material standpoint. That is, a majority of the population is indigent today, but there are also a considerable number of those who cannot meet even the basic needs of life. That is why we have had to undertake to adopt new supplemental measures. Some have already been introduced (lump-sum money assistance to pay bills for municipal services and utilities), and a system for distribution of food packages to the indigent has also been envisaged through social welfare centers, along with the activity of soup kitchens. In one version, the subsidizing of dark bread and milk has been envisaged.

"This social welfare program also has an effective ingredient through which a vigorous policy of creating new jobs would be realized (retraining, education of the unemployed, etc.)."

Transportation Agreement Signed With Italy

AU3003102193 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] In Ljubljana today Slovene and Italian Transportation Ministers Igor Umek and Giancarlo Tesini signed an agreement on mutual regulation of international, road, passenger, and cargo traffic, and an agreement on air traffic between the two states.

The result of the air traffic agreement is a regular air link between Ljubljana and Rome. As of 5 May, aircraft of the Slovene carrier Adria Airways will fly this route three times a week in both directions.

The ministers also discussed the building of the Osimo roads. Minister Tesini denied that the Italian Government would have officially blocked a $110 million loan for the building of roads until Slovenia returns property to the Istrian refugees.

Commentary Assesses Latest Bilateral Talks in Rome

AU2703164993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Commentary by Igor Gruden]

[Text] Content faces of people taking a break after a job well done were the visual confirmation of the preliminary assessment by the head [Ignac Golob] of the Slovene delegation to yesterday's [25 March] talks, who summarized them as involving the plain truth and the determination of both sides to continue the talks. This phase will last until all underwater reefs threatening the commencement of successful negotiations are removed.

Judging by everything, there was very little discussion of the negotiating topics. They mostly discussed the conditions necessary for interstate dialogue on an equal footing. In connection with this, the head of the Slovene delegation explained very firmly and profoundly that the position taken by the Slovene parliament on 24 March and binding for the Slovene negotiators, which supports the continuation of interstate talks but not at any cost.

Although there was very little discussion about concrete issues, it is apparent even after yesterday's meeting that a demand for equal protection for the Italian minority and the right of the option takers [optanti—people who chose Italian citizenship after the abolishment of the Free Territory of Trieste in 1954] or, as they call them, the refugees, to obtain either compensation or their confiscated property, is not merely a temporary electoral trap for the Italian side but a given in the negotiations.

Regarding the protection of the Italian minority, they no longer insisted on a tripartite agreement. They assessed favorably a wise parliamentary decision which would have Slovenia trying to negotiate equal treatment of the Italian minority with Croatia. With this, Slovenia has made one of the Italian weapons considerably blunter.

The change on the Italian side was their promise that the Italian delegation would hold talks with the representatives of the Slovene minority in Italy before the next meeting. That the property issue will be a hard nut to crack is best proven by the fact that not only the option takers' lobby and the Trieste nationalists consider this to be the central open issue, but so do the ruling provincial parties, and [word indistinct] Democratic Party of the Left.

A consensus on this obviously was also reached after the talks and in later negotiations. [sentence as heard] We will not hurry at all, the head of our delegation said.

Finally, we can conclude that thanks to the Slovene delegation and its steadfast behavior at the meeting that was designed to clarify matters, the sensibility of the decision to travel to Rome under certain circumstances and continue the talks was further reaffirmed.

Assurances that Italy will give its consent to the three agreements to be signed between the EC and Slovenia in Brussels 5 March [date as heard] also represents a positive part of yesterday's talks in Rome.

Drnovsek, Jansa To Discuss Relations with EC

AU3003100993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, and Defense Minister Janez Jansa will discuss relations between Slovenia and the EC with Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, in Brussels today. Dr. Drnovsek and Defense Minister Janez Jansa will be also received by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

Croatian, Slovene Army Delegations Meet in Ljubljana

LD2903173993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—A Croatian Army delegation, headed by Defense Minister Gojko Susak and General Janko Bobetko, met top representatives of the Slovene Ministry of Defense in Ljubljana today. The topic of the talks has not been disclosed.

Top Croatian military representatives arrived in Ljubljana on the eve of a meeting which Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and Defense Minister Janez Jansa will have with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner in Brussels tomorrow.

Federal

Law on Electing, Dismissing President Unchanged

LD2903174693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly did not adopt a change to the law on electing and dismissing the president of the republic today. The proposed change would have deleted an article, which states that the Federal Assembly has to obtain the opinion of the Federal Constitutional Court during the process of dismissing the head of state.

After a two-hour debate, with a lot of raised voices, the change proposed by the Serbian Radical Party did not get the two-thirds majority. The proposal by the radicals received 71, against the needed 92 votes. [passage omitted]

Postponement of ICJ Hearing Sought

AU3003120693 Paris AFP in English 1135 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] The Hague, March 30 (AFP)—Rump Yugoslavia has asked the International Court of Justice [ICJ] to postpone the first hearing Thursday [1 April] on Bosnia-Herzegovina's demand for urgent measures to halt "genocide" by Serbia and Montenegro, a Yugoslav source said Tuesday.

The source said rump Yugoslavia needed more time to prepare its case.

The request was made two days from the first scheduled public hearing in the United Nations' highest court on Sarajevo's allegations against the rump federal Yugoslavia, now reduced to the two republics.

The Yugoslav side has not formally said it would go before the court, but the source said this could be "deduced" by the request for postponement.

Bosnia-Herzegovina filed its case on March 20 with the International Court of Justice, which can still hear a complaint in the absence of one of the parties.

It requested six urgent "provisional measures" agaisnt rump Yugoslavia "for violating the Genocide convention", a reference to provisions in various U.N. conventions and human rights charters, saying its aim was to "prevent further loss of human life in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

The measures break down into two groups. On the one hand, Bosnia wants Yugoslavia and its "surrogates" in Bosnia to "immediately cease and desist from all acts of genocide and genocidal acts" against the people and Bosnian state.

On the other hand, it wants recognititon that Bosnia-Herzegovina "has the right to seek and receive support from other states in order to defend itself and its people."

Under the request submitted by Bosnia, this would include obtaining military weapons, equipment and supplies from any state for its defense.

A legal expert said it was unusual for one side to request a postponement when a date for the first session had already been set.

Political Neutrality of Army Urged

93BA0736C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 15-17

[Article by Dragan Bujosevic: "Excursions by Interceptor"]

[Text] *In a completely militarized society, it is impossible to expect an absolutely depoliticized military, but its officers must be required to shun parties and leaders.*

The state is a gun and a billy club, says one of the shortest definitions of the state. Since this nation appears to have little desire to pursue the billy club (police), it is left to pursue the gun (military). It has been encouraged in this by the Yugoslav military itself: first its—as everyone says—outstanding interceptor, Gen. Bozidar Stevanovic, and then the General Staff as well, through its statements and announcements.

The military's direct intrusion into political space occurred right before the December elections, when the minister of defense's Board said that it does not support the candidacy of Milan Panic for president of Yugoslavia. The General Staff then distanced itself from the Board statement. The final score in the competition between the Board and the General Staff, at least according to the later interpretation by Gen. Zivota Panic, was zero to zero: "I cannot comment on the action by the Board, because they are beyond my jurisdiction, just as the General Staff is beyond theirs."

Then, two days before the election, and thus during the election blackout, Gen. Bozidar Stevanovic told VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a newspaper in which he often appears: "I did not accept the offer (to be minister of the army in a Milan Panic government) for several reasons. First, for moral and political reasons. I believe, specifically, that there is not a single honorable and patriotically oriented general who under the present-day circumstances would agree to be a minister in a Panic government...."

After that, the commander of the Air Force and Air Defense [RV and PVO] of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia told retired officers and civilians working for RV and PVO that "patriotic forces triumphed in the elections," despite the hope of foreign elements that forces loyal to them would win, and that because of this it was

necessary to make changes in the activity of political movements and parties in such a way that the organization and operation of a fifth column would be prevented. There were also words here about the unacceptability of the Vance-Owen Plan, because it is "unprincipled and biased to the advantage of the Croats and to a certain extent the Muslims, and to the disadvantage of the Serbs."

Approximately one week later, Stevanovic again reflected on politics out loud, this time before reserve officers from Vozdovac, in Belgrade Opstina. Some of the press gave special emphasis to two of his thoughts. The first: "Why does Ilija Djukic (federal minister of foreign affairs) hasten to say that we will not take action from Yugoslavia? He should say that we will take action, or he should at least keep quiet." The second: "Well, 9 March will come to provoke us, so that we kill each other in the streets, so that the police and military clash."

Seselj Praises Stevanovic

All this was followed by an announcement by the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia on the Americans' intention to airdrop humanitarian aid to Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The statement explicitly says that the U.S. administration has decided, "by misusing humanitarian reasons, to finally and directly interfere militarily in the civil war raging in the territory of the former Yugoslavia."

BORBA was the first to publish a commentary saying that the generals are too concerned with politics, and then some opposition parties adopted similar tones. DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], in assessing the risks of "airdropped aid" (an incident during the operation could provoke an unforeseeable widening of the conflict), also slams the General Staff for its "tactless reaction" to the U.S. decision. On behalf of the liberals, Kosta Cavoski says that throwing aid to hungry people out of airplanes is "justified and risky." The Civic Alliance warns of "chaos in Yugoslavia's foreign policy" and demands that Dobrica Cosic "hold the General Staff and Gen. Stevanovic accountable for interfering in foreign policy questions." The Democratic Party of Serbia devotes all its attention to the "blue one" in the "MiG-29," accusing him of inviting bloodshed. A different tone is heard from Vojislav Seselj, for whom all of this is one more in the series of good performances by the general who is a "real patriot, ready to sacrifice himself, a real officer." Some volunteers say that this is Seselj's payback for services that the general has rendered to radical soldiers.

The commander of the "blues," also known under his nickname Mika Spraje, refused to explain any of his statements to NIN in any way whatsoever. By telephone he said amiably that he is willing to talk about any new subject, but that he does not have to justify himself to anyone and that his bosses are "the chief of the General Staff and the three presidents."

But even without any explanation, it is clear that we are seeing a continuation of the "arrogant stumbling" of the Armed Forces, which since the death of its only commander does not know how to get along best without the help of that sort of authority.

With Broz, everything was easy. He was the head of state and the head of the party and the head of the military, but in all honesty the difference between the state, the military, and the party was not that easy to discern. If Broz had wanted to, he could have been only the supreme commander or only the president of the state, but in any event it was not possible to ask—as now—whether President Cosic or the General Staff should respond to a threat from abroad.

Politicians and Officers

Once it was clear that the desired unity of command, but also a unified interpretation of ideology, would not come to pass, the military in 1991, afraid for its own as well as the country's survival, put forward its platform for resolving the Yugoslav crisis, which was then only approaching its bloody entanglement. After first ordering officers to become members of the SK-PJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia], the military leadership banned the work of that party in units and commands, in the process removing, before many others, Broz's pictures from the walls and the five-pointed star from caps. But it was already too late to pull back from the politicians' embrace, especially since they could achieve their ideas about creating their own national states only with the help of cannons and bayonets.

Politicians increase their power by spreading assurances that the military is in fact behind them. This is how the statement by Borisav Jovic must be understood in which he said that the military and the police were behind his party. (The people here have a saying, that might makes right.) Clearly, Milan Panic being photographed in a "MiG" and playing tennis with the general of the same name, Milosevic's visit to the military institute, and Cosic's visit to the First Army command were intended to strengthen their standing and power.

Emerging from the war in Slovenia and Croatia seriously, almost fatally wounded, the military began to pay the price for its incompetence, or to put it more gently, its unresourcefulness in a war for which it was never prepared (a bad evaluation). Accusations were quickly made by various politicians, because it was incomparably easier for them to represent their own incompetence as weakness on the part of the generals. The latter were criticized for being responsible for the war, for having unreasonably gone right up to the old walls of Dubrovnik, for having dropped too many bombs and shells on Vukovar....

The military's careless acceptance of the transformation of paramilitary units into regular ones in its retorts was used by Goran Hadzic, the president of Krajina, to accuse this old JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] of being

the only one that could commit war crimes in Croatia and Krajina, if there were crimes. Of course, the epitome of interference by politicians in military affairs was the surprise retirement of the group of generals in early 1992, which many consider to be the doing of Slobodan Milosevic. Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic has already explained how many generals were invited to meet with the Serbian president, but he was probably the only one who announced his departure to his superiors.

Reduced to the territory of the truncated Yugoslavia, the military immediately launched a national cleansing of its own ranks, not failing to inflict on itself several serious wounds through apparently utterly unnecessary trials (Silic, Trifunovic, "Opera," Vasiljevic), which if nothing else could have been postponed....

Thus we come to the statements by Gen. Stevanovic, whose qualities as an interceptor no one doubts, and who is the head of the most powerful branch of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia. The opposition has interpreted these statements as a threat and as a solid bond for "two-headed rule" (Matija Beckovic's expression). Others have found here a possible clash between Stevanovic and Panic. Both generals turn 60 this year and could retire, but through a decision by the Military Council they could also stay on at their posts for another two years, and even five years if they achieve the rank of general of the army. Thus, some interpret Stevanovic's statements in terms of his ambition, asserting that at one point he was thinking about leaving the military, when Zvonko Jurjevic was promoted to RV and PVO commander. Supporters of this theory say that this is only another way of demonstrating the discord that exists between Milosevic (Stevanovic) and Cosic (Panic).

No Sterile Military

In contrast to this is the argument that Panic and Stevanovic cooperated exceptionally well in the war in Slavonia, and that for them patriotism is the fundamental political conviction. As proof of their closeness, mention is made of the fact that Panic, as his superior, has not criticized Stevanovic's political frankness, and only once, when asked directly during an interview with BORBA, did he say, "I can say about Gen. Stevanovic's interview that it represents some sort of information excursion during the course of which he put forward only his personal view of the current social situation. In any event, it does not reflect the positions of the army, which is obligated to be neutral in the political life of the country."

Although Gen. Zivota Panic says explicitly, "The military is depoliticized. Political parties are prohibited in it, just as membership in political parties or agitation on their behalf is prohibited in the permanent structure," it is obvious that even this is not an adequate guarantee of its political neutrality, the best proof of which are in fact the statements by Gen. Stevanovic. A sociologist by training and colonel in rank, Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, says that political neutrality is one thing, while the political inertia that definitely backfired on the military in the past is another thing. There is no such thing as a politically sterile military, he says. Depoliticizing the military means a high degree of neutrality with regard to partisan interests in the struggle for power, but not political indifference to what is happening in the country and in the world.

It is completely reasonable for the military to share society's fate, for it too to feel all the pain from getting used to certain new value systems and different conditions. It is also certain that it is not easy to expect a completely depoliticized military in a super-militarized society. But what must be required of its chiefs is that they shun partisan bias or connections with any political leaders.

Reasons for Shortages of Food Products

93BA0697E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 93 p 15

[Article by Bogdan Trbojevic: "Events on the Market: No Flour, No Cooking Oil, No Sugar..."]

[Text] *Message from producers: "Free prices and everything will be available"; producers of cooking oil, sugar, flour, milk and certain other articles are dissatisfied with low prices, because of which almost all of them are losing.*

Often there is no cooking oil, sugar, and flour on the market. Also in short supply are milk, detergent, and paper goods, and occasionally mayonnaise and margarine. For now, we will limit ourselves to analyzing the shortage of these articles so that we can discuss causes in a little more detail. The consequences are obvious.

Producers assert that there is enough flour, oil, and sugar to meet the needs of the population, and probably enough milk too. Detergents depend on certain imported substances. Concerning paper products, they say that two producers are not enough to meet the needs of this Yugoslavia. The situation with margarine and mayonnaise is similar.

The consumer's standard of living is protected through the so-called lower prices of flour, oil, sugar, and milk. Thus we arrive at the cause of all the trouble regarding these articles on the domestic market.

All Parities Disputed

For years now, producers have been entangled in an inextricable web of depressed prices for these articles and parities. But the low prices for these products and the parities are hanging, like a double-edged sword, over production, commerce, and most of all over consumers. This sword is used to cut through the knot signifying: to have or not to have these products. Or rather, having them when they are not available or not having them when they are. A very ossified, old game. The state lacks the money to subsidize these products. Commerce lacks the money to invest in production. The producers will

not and cannot work with losses. When prices satisfy at least a little production, these articles are available. The notion that "if the government approves the free establishment of prices, then everything will be available" is being heard more and more.

Almost of secondary importance are parities—a permanent stumbling block and a major source of discontent, misunderstanding, and absurdity. Who can understand price parities at a time when the official price of a liter of cooking oil is the same as a kilogram of potatoes? Can anyone understand a kilogram of potatoes costing more than a kilogram of sugar, or two and a half times as much as a kilogram of flour? A kilogram of lard costs the same as four liters of cooking oil. But oil has been more expensive than lard since time immemorial. We also note the absurdity that a half kilogram bottle of beer is more expensive than a liter of milk, while mineral water is approximately equivalent.

Producers and merchants have their own considerations and outlook regarding this wonder of the market.

Vukolaja Radojevic, the general director of "Yu Oil," says that at this point producers would be satisfied with a more reasonable and realistic price, if a liter of oil cost the equivalent of two German marks. That means a little more than 24,000 dinars. Furthermore, Radojevic contends that oil has always been 30 percent more expensive than lard. And we return once again to the dissatisfaction concerning disputed parities.

Producers, Radojevic also contends, are losing even their backing. They have no cash, and the interest on loans is terrible. For example, the interest that "Sunce" in Sombor pays in one day is equivalent to the monthly personal incomes of all the company's employees.

Oil and Sugar in the Stores

One comment by General Director Radojevic introduces a little cheerfulness to the entire story: People need not fear shortages, because there is plenty of cooking oil—in the stores and in reserves.

All producers of the most important food products could cite almost identical reasons and proof.

Here we will note two views from commerce—from the "Beograd" and "Srbijanke" Department Stores.

Branko Djurdjevic, the director of food, chemical products, and paper products for "Beograd" Department Store—a joint-stock company—confirms that there is no oil, sugar, and flour. For the time being there is no detergent, paper products, margarine, and shortening. The companies simply do not fit in with low prices. Director Djurdjevic cites the fact that oil is sold at the official price of 5,200 to 6,200 dinars, while lard, sold at the producer's price, costs as much as 22,000 dinars now. A price of 2,830 dinars is approved for a kilogram of sugar in bulk, while potatoes cost between 4,000 and 5,000 dinars.

Objectively speaking, it does not pay producers to sell at these low product prices, nor does it pay merchants to sell at low, limited margins. Merchants are asked to pay for these goods in advance. Merchants lose money on these goods. Inflation eats up any price difference in five days. But merchants have not had their own money for the past 10 years. That is the reason for the loss in continuity in deliveries and for the continual presence of so-called temporary shortages. Incidentally, department stores have not received a single gram of sugar, flour, or cooking oil from reserves since the New Year.

With detergents as well, payments for 10 to 15 days are requested upon submitting an acceptance order. Sugar producers are asking that a kilogram cost one mark, or 10,000 to 12,000 dinars. Right now, sugar in bulk, in private stores, is sold for 8,000 dinars a kilogram.

The supply situation with so-called paper goods is worse, because "Incel" (Banja Luka) and "Avala" cannot meet the needs of the local market. Dusan Djermanovic, the head of purchasing for "Srbijanke," paints almost the exact same picture of the supply situation as Djurdjevic. Producers are sending very small quantities of sugar, flour, and cooking oil. When sugar does arrive, it is such a small quantity that the first consumers fight over it. There is not enough detergent. Rice is available at 10,000 dinars a kilogram. There is domestic salt from time to time, and also imported salt from Romania and Austria. There is much less citrus fruit. In principle, all these articles are available, but on the unofficial black market, Djermanovic stresses.

It appears that there are only two ways to get these articles onto the market under blockade: the free establishment of pricing or a partial investment by the government in financing this production.

Experts 'Prevented' From Testifying on Rapes

93BA0702A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 9

[Article by S. Kljakic: "Our Experts Did Not Go to Brussels: Truth About Rapes Left Without Visas"]

[Text] *Prof. Dr. Slobodan Jakulic: It is known that we would have presented irrefutable facts in Brussels, and that is why we were prevented from going, so that the world would not hear the truth; the Belgian Government gave visas to the pilots, but denied them to the experts.*

Public debate began yesterday on the rape of women in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, organized by the Commission for the Rights of Women of the European Parliament. Members of our expert group, although invited, did not get visas from the Belgian Government to go to the meeting.

We discussed this with Dr. Slobodan Jakulic, a member of the expert group and a department head at the "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" Neuropsychiatric Hospital.

"Anyone," says Dr. Jakulic, "familiar with the situation knows that our doctors and experts are not laymen, that things are just the opposite. It is also known that we would have presented irrefutable facts in Brussels. That is why we were prevented from going, so that the world would not hear the truth."

We ask Dr. Jakulic how preparations were made for this meeting, and he tells us that they were appropriate, involving various types of experts.

"We looked at the problem," Dr. Jakulic says, "from a professional standpoint, not a political one. The names of the experts, the way in which we worked, and the documentation that we wanted to make available for inspection guaranteed that the Brussels meeting would learn the truth."

Good Preparations

In assembling documentation, assistance was offered by government services and humanitarian and other organizations. Thanks to all of this, the documentation of our expert group on known cases of rape was complete.

"In contrast," Dr. Jakulic says, "a partial inspection of the documentation offered by the other two sides shows that it does not meet certain elementary expert and professional conditions. For example, 'a doctor,' 'certain documents,' 'cases that have not been processed,' and so on are cited as sources. In our documentation, names, medical findings, expertise, and so on are cited."

In preparing for the meeting that he was unable to attend, Dr. Jakulic wrote a report in which he pointed out some of the essentially illogical points in the latest wave of the campaign to vilify Serbs, a wave in which there is talk of alleged mass rapes of Muslim women.

"In my report," says Dr. Jakulic, "I mention deputy Stefan Schwartz. He began this campaign. In the German parliament, he declared that Serbian doctors, performing experiments, have transplanted dog embryos to the uteruses of Muslim women. Some of the Western media carried that report, even though in today's civilized world even a child in elementary school knows that such a thing is not possible. I assume that Mr. Schwartz has at least an elementary school education. That is why, as a psychiatrist, I think that Mr. Schwartz is deeply mentally disturbed and that he is in urgent need of psychiatric treatment. As far as the journalists who carried the 'report' that he launched are concerned, they should be taken to court, as dictated by the customs of the Western world when a lie is passed on."

In his report, Dr. Jakulic also disputed the allegation by Haris Silajdzic, also carried in the Western media, that Serbs have raped 50,000 or more Muslim women. He cited the fact that in the territory of the former B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina] controlled by Serbs, there are around 150,000 Muslims—children, men, women, and others.

Disputed Allegation

"It turns out," Dr. Jakulic emphasizes, "that more Muslim women have been raped than there actually are, because there are around 40,000 children alone in this group. I also asked where the medical records on any abortions are. We have these records for raped Serb women."

Dr. Jakulic notes that no one denies the existence of the crime of rape on all sides, but draws attention to the fact that the percentage of rape is relatively small, for two reasons.

"First," Dr. Jakulic says, "the crime of rape, like other crimes, is committed exclusively by psychopathic individuals. In every population in the world, psychopaths account for 3 to 5 percent. The number of rapes depends on the percentage of psychopaths involved in wartime operations. Second, no matter how brave he is, a fighter feels fear during wartime activities, which biological psychiatry has shown to be influenced by problems with benzodiazepine receptors in the brain. And fear and sex do not go together."

These receptors, we learned in our interview, can be calmed down by sedatives, for example apaurinom, which the fighters do not like to take. It is also possible to do this with alcohol or drugs.

"Thank God," says Dr. Jakulic, "our fighters do not have any drugs, but the percentage of alcohol use is up. All in all, we believe that our estimates of the number of raped Serb women are realistic. They are incomparably lower than the propaganda figures provided by the Muslim side, which only go to show that they are ordinary lies."

Prof. Jakulic regards the entire situation with the refused visas in the broader context of the discriminatory measures being suffered by the Serbian people.

"The imposed embargo," he says, "has not destroyed us, because we still have bread. But now a psychological embargo is being applied as well. Even our children are being spiritually isolated, as the well-known decision by Walt Disney shows."

Serbia

Republic's Intentions To Fight Crime Doubted

93BA0709D Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 93 pp 28-30

[Article by Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukic and Branka Andjelkovic: "Looking for Serpico"]

[Text] Most courteously applied to in writing and orally, the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] and city Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SUP] were not willing to explain to NIN exactly what they mean by the fight

against crime and corruption that has been loudly heralded at the top government level. Maintaining its traditional inaccessibility, at the very outset that ministry certainly has not [as published] called into question the real willingness for a "determined showdown." Exploits on the order of detecting four minors ages 10 through 13, or the detection of two pirate studios copying and selling videocassettes, would seem to favor those who consider the proclaimed campaign just another demagogic trick, just so much dust in the eyes. An additional reason for skepticism lies in the fact that the announced campaign is to be conducted by "the same old people," beginning with the interior minister, Zoran Sokolovic, and the other government officials who have frequently been the targets of charges—never, to be sure, proven, but not denied either.

Who Is Paying the Judiciary

"The announcement of the president of the Republic and of the Republic government could be just another of the commonplace deceptions to confirm the irreplaceability of the present government because of the so-called undisputed interest of the people, when previous strategies, for example, creation of a law-governed state, have experienced obvious failure," says Dr. Vladan Vasiljevic, scientific adviser in the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research. "At the same time, if we assume that they are seriously thinking about a campaign against crime, that could mean that the top party and government leadership of Serbia feel very threatened by the growing power of the underground. And when the space for activity of various criminal organizations becomes cramped, a decisive showdown occurs between them in order to establish the undisputed boss."

The only measure of the Republic government that is at all specific, if one is to judge from the statement of the prime minister, Sainovic, is the "legal council," whose specific nature and purpose still have not been made clear. It is the usual practice in the world to form special independent professional bodies of "untouchable" people whose moral and professional integrity is undisputed for oversight of the performance of the judiciary and police and to fight crime and corruption. Such commissions are usually established by the parliament or president of the Republic. However....

"The National Assembly of Serbia barely qualified to be called a multiparty body. In democratic societies, the independent media and opposition exercise democratic oversight, but this presupposes that professional criteria have been built in and that the opposition has its own people in the lowest bodies of government, in the police, the judiciary, financial institutions, the army.... In the present division of power, when there is no opposition in the administration except in a few opstinas, there is no fight against crime either, because in practical terms it is protected," says the well-known Belgrade lawyer, Sava Andjelkovic.

The judiciary is completely unprepared for the "big housecleaning" that has been announced. The Serbian National Assembly chose more than 2,000 judges in only 45 minutes, thereby violating the Law on Courts.

"Candidates who are not even citizens of our country, who have not served the appropriate time in legal affairs, have been nominated and elected, the minister has been getting opinions from unauthorized persons, court presidents have not been elected from among elected judges, but appointed before those elections," NIN was told by Jovan Damjanovic, a lawyer from Nis, one of the more than 250 judges who no longer hold that office following a decision by the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] machine. "This is all in a sense a kind of sabotage. There are numerous cases in which some of the elected judges did not turn up for work because they have better-paying jobs, but they competed as stalking horses for someone else, for this or that reason. Whom did this serve, and did anyone think about what would happen when insufficiently trained lawyers are brought into the courts? In Nis, for example, one young newly appointed judge literally fled from a trial. Hearings and trials are being postponed without good reason, because such people are not ready for the trial, they conduct proceedings inexpertly, and one half-baked judge pronounced the verdict as though it were a report to be delivered."

Mr. Jovica Damjanovic heads the Initiating Committee of Independent Judges, which has filed a complaint against the Republic of Serbia for the lapses of its agencies.

It is difficult to prove the story going around that corruption has become widespread in the judiciary. However, the judicial practice of procrastination in the rendering of verdicts and the failure to convict persons when law enforcement agencies have evidence of a crime having been committed are an increasingly frequent phenomenon. It also is no rarity that the laws are applied selectively.

"Blue envelopes containing bribes are not the only form of corruption; for me it is also corruption when someone has a right under our laws, but cannot exercise it through the court. Firms which have their connections in the judiciary, for example, get court verdicts done quickly or slowly (depending on their need)," Mr. Sava Andjelkovic says.

Independent Policemen

Even Rade Markovic, chief of the city SUP, has been critical of the performance of the judiciary in his rare public statements. However, hands are not perfectly clean in the police either. There is talk about the collection of graft from street merchants and dealers and about close ties with people in the underground; and they are said to have a share in the take from rackets. There have also been charges of alleged involvement in murders still unsolved on the streets of Belgrade. In all of this, the public has not been familiarized with any possible internal investigation in the agencies of the MUP, nor

have figures ever been published on the punishment of policemen who have abused their office. In addition, there is no regulation whatsoever of relations between law enforcement agencies and their network of informers, to whom they afford great (too great) privileges on the basis of broad discretionary rights without being accountable to anyone.

Law enforcement agencies are still highly politicized, and, above all, oriented toward protection of the system, rather than peace and order and citizens' life and property. The most banal example of the ideological approach of the custodians of the law is, according to the driver of a van belonging to ICN Galenika, the unceasing penalization for nonexistent traffic violations regardless of witnesses, solely because the owner of that firm is Mr. Milan Panic! We have learned, however, that there are suggestions that an Independent (Nezavisni) Trade Union will soon be formed in the city SUP that would favor a well-trained professional police free of ideology. A recent incident at the Belgrade railroad station seems by all appearances to be tragic evidence of the lack of professionalism. Two people were killed and one seriously wounded mostly because the Regulation on Performance of the Duties of the Public Security Service was not applied; in the section on apprehension and detention, it envisages not only disarming, but also handcuffing persons when there is a likelihood of resistance or an attack on an officer.

The utter chaos in the legislative system is also indicative that there have been no serious attempts to speed up development of the legal system. The Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia never managed to elect judges either to the Constitutional Court or to the Federal Court during its entire term of office, though it had a constitutional obligation to do so during its first session! Yugoslavia still does not have a law on internal affairs, nor a law on defense and the army, nor on the National Bank, nor on property, on business firms, on personal credentials, and so on. What is more, jurisdictions of the Republic and federation have still not been precisely defined and delineated, and because of the weak legal foundation of federal laws, there are cases when certain matters in which the competent authorities have a particular interest are covered by Republic laws. The only trouble is that the Criminal Code and the Law on Criminal Procedure were adopted in the time of self-management socialism. There simply is no punishment for many acts which at the time of their adoption showed no likelihood of being relevant. But on the other hand there is legal regulation of certain other acts which are no longer relevant now.

Not a Word About Money

"Our legislation is overburdened with dead letters and anomalies, it is markedly repressive, it is tied to another era, when an altogether different system of government existed. The adaptations made so far to the altered conditions have not exactly been altogether successful," says Dr. Vladan Vasiljevic. "A new law can be expected after a thorough and good study of the entire situation and clearly defined interests which ought to be protected."

Solutions adopted the world over are not applied, and so in our country, when an accused is taken into custody, he may not be interrogated in the presence of a lawyer, but for that reason evidence obtained in that way cannot be used in court, which is a unique absurdity which makes the entire procedure unnecessarily complicated. Also, inflation is constantly devaluing fines, and the tardiness of judicial authorities also contributes. In some of the laws which are still formally in effect, the amount of the fine is even only a dinar or 10 dinars, so that the paper used in the "proceeding" costs more than the fine itself.

Dr. Tomislav Ilic, Serbian minister of justice, says that recently a large number of crimes and misdemeanors have been noticed which are a direct threat to implementing the measures of the government, especially in the field of trade and the turnover tax. According to the figures of the Serbian Agency for Settlement and Financial Oversight, illegality and irregularity were found in the computation or payment of tax of all of 77 percent of the taxpayers. Many taxpayers wait until the financial police knock on the door, and only then do they discharge their obligations to the state, because that is advantageous to them because of inflation.

The Republic's Revenues Administration warns that the constant adjustment of prices in stores takes away the value of the base of the turnover tax. Merchants pay the tax on the old price and thus put the difference in their pocket. Wages and other costs are not paid through the giro account, but in cash, out of the daily take, also in order to avoid the payment of tax obligations. The government does not react to all of that, because it obviously is not being financed out of taxes. It is getting harder and harder to obtain cash legally, even though the printing plant in Topcider is working without interruption. Because every bank note is numbered, statements from officials that it is impossible to monitor where the cash goes sounds completely unconvincing. When he came to head the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, Zarija Martinovic made a firm promise that after a rigorous inspection he would announce the names of those responsible for illegal manipulation of money, but he never did so. Asked to say something on that topic for NIN, Mr. Martinovic said only that he no longer wants to say anything about money!

It should also be recalled that during the currency reform and replacement of the money this summer, when the new bank notes appeared first in the hands of the street dealers, not in the banks, Dragoslav Jovanovic, then director of the Social Accounting Service, was removed. Soon, however, Mr. Jovanovic became an adviser, and now he is the new Republic finance minister. The conclusion is clear: Either Jovanovic and his service were not to blame (and then who is?), or none of that is even to the point.

Lucrative Turnover

Under such conditions, the turnover of money, someone else's, of course, has become the most lucrative business. It is estimated that in Yugoslavia at the moment there are about 1,000 savings institutions. Most of them call themselves banks and engage in foreign exchange transactions which are permitted only to banks with written consent of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. Dragomir Curcic, director of the Agency for Settlement and Financial Oversight of Serbia (the SDK), has said that the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which has jurisdiction over issuing operating licenses to mixed banks, "has often overlooked the absence of all the necessary papers necessary under the provisions of the Law on Banks. For example, many banks have been established even without having paid dinar funds into a special account of the SDK or the competent authorities, nor have they deposited the foreign exchange on time in a separate account with the National Bank of Yugoslavia."

Veljko Loncar, who heads the Auditing Department of the National Bank of Serbia, however, passes the buck to the Economic Court: "If the savings institutions do not operate according to the letter of the law, the Economic Court should delete them from the register and so inform the central bank, and then it would undertake an audit."

"In spite of so many inspectorates of various kinds, the financial police, the governors of the national banks, the prosecutors' offices, the courts, and the police, it is impossible and inaccurate that all of them are unable to establish why there is no money and to prohibit illegal and illiquid banks from operating. Some banks already owe tens of millions of German marks and should have been shut down long ago. But because we have no need for the truth, nor for a real economy, but for social peace, the government is a party to deception of citizens who are completely unprotected," says Mr. Sava Andjelkovic.

Another good reason why all of this is possible is the immense amount of so-called socialized property which has been entrusted to the people in the regime. Thus, a large number of directors have obtained capital on very favorable terms through the Republic agency for transformation of socialized property.

There are unceasing manipulations on an enormous scale with building sites, office space, and housing. The opposition, for example, when it came to power in Vracar Opstina, found that in a very brief period on the eve of the election 51 apartments were allotted, and 30 new people were hired, and all of this was, of course, through various party connections. Mr. Dragan Marsicanin, the newly elected president of this opstina in the city, told us that in this short time he still has not had a complete look at the situation, but that there obviously have been flagrant violations of the law in the activity of opstina authorities. In any case, the apartments allocated, at least in this opstina, will be returned to the opstina commissions for review of the decisions allocating them.

However, it is not only the opstina people who are wheeling and dealing with housing. The Republic Law on Purchase of Housing has been so "designed" to allow many people to purchase socialized apartments for almost minimal amounts of money. Thus, according to what has been written in the press, one Belgrade lawyer bought 40 apartments in the name of their owners, who are retired, guaranteeing them in return support and social welfare for life. The readiness to get around the law has thus by all appearances continued to be the favorite sport in this country.

When all is said and done, the announcement has been made, but who is going to wage this war on crime, and how is it to be waged? Even if the intention is serious, the outcome of the showdown is uncertain and depends on the support which the government will have, beginning with members of its own party. This means that it must take its finger out of the pie and gain confidence by, say, for a start, making public the property owned by ministers and other officials at the beginning of their term of office, which is being proposed more and more frequently in public, and by exemplary punishment of corruption at the very top level of government. There is every likelihood, however, that the entire campaign is nevertheless only a mainly demagogic trick. After all, if the government wanted a showdown with crime and corruption, it would have initiated it much earlier. That, incidentally, is one of its main functions, its raison d'etre.

Situation in Sandzak Alarming

93BA0750D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 10

[Interview with Rasim Ljajic, secretary general of Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak, by Zvonko Prijovic; date and place not given: "Situation in Sandzak Becoming Alarming"]

[Text] *"The first phase of ethnic cleansing in Sandzak has been completed. Sixty percent of the Muslims in Priboj and Pljevlja have been expelled from those places. Now the cleansing process is shifting to Prijepolje, where rightwing political parties (SRS [Serbian Radical Party] and SNO [Serbian National Renewal] are openly criticizing coexistence. The latest abduction of passengers from the Belgrade-Bar train only proves that cleansing is continuing on a city-by-city basis," according to the leading Muslim figure in Sandzak, Rasim Ljajic.*

Besides Kosovo, Sandzak is the most dangerous focal point of possible further conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in the opinion of many analysts. In its efforts to keep the conflict from spreading from Bosnia-Herzegovina to other regions, the West has apparently decided that Kosovo and Sandzak must remain part of the FRY. But the question of their autonomy is still open. Dr. Rasim Ljajic, the secretary

general of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] for Sandzak, talks to BORBA about this and other current issues affecting Sandzak.

[Prijovic] What is your assessment of the current situation in Sandzak?

[Ljajic] The situation in this region is becoming more and more alarming every day, because we can neither influence nor halt the obvious process of ethnic cleansing in western Sandzak. The first phase of that project has already been completed, and 60 percent of the Muslims in Priboj and Pljevlja have been expelled from those places. The link between Sandzak and Bosnia has been cut off. Because it constitutes a wedge between Serbia and Montenegro, that area is being cleansed right now in order to create a corridor connecting eastern Herzegovina and Serbia. We are watching as the cleansing process is shifting from Priboj and Pljevlja to Prijepolje, where in their latest appearances the two rightwing political parties (the SRS and the SNO) have criticized coexistence. Another thing that is hurrying ethnic cleansing along is economic pressures, and the process of differentiating personnel of Muslim nationality has already begun.

We Do Not Seek Secession

[Prijovic] A number of Muslims from Priboj, primarily college graduates, have not moved out because of pressure, but rather primarily out of fear.

[Ljajic] Although there are no direct pressures and physical threats, many forms of psychological pressure are present: the reinforced presence of the army and police, everyday shootings around the cities, etc. A specific media war is also being waged. We are accused of sending students off to Turkey for military training instead of college. In that regard, we have already asked observers from the CSCE mission to send one of their delegations to Turkey to check on whether the young men and women are actually studying. We expect the real truth about this to come to light shortly.

[Prijovic] It appears that the question of autonomy for this region is still open.

[Ljajic] Not once thus far have we raised the question of Sandzak secession. As far as forms of autonomy are concerned, we will fight to see to it that Muslims have all human, national, cultural, and other rights that will not endanger their identity and survival. Naturally, through negotiation and an equitable dialogue we must arrive at the level that will satisfy both sides and constitute a long-term solution for both Serbs and Muslims. At this time, the scope of possible autonomy is determined by the degree of civil and all other freedoms in society. The less democracy, the more autonomy.

[Prijovic] How interested is the SDA for Sandzak in the course of negotiations among the three belligerent sides in Bosnia?

[Ljajic] The latest solution only characterizes the results of ethnic cleansing in the entire Bosnian region. I think that it will be hard to put the new plan into effect in practice, not only in terms of territory, but also with regard to the constitutional principles through which 10 mini-states are created. If the Vance-Owen plan is put into effect, we will insist on the creation of a corridor linking a Bosnian province with a majority Muslim population to this part of Yugoslavia. It appears, however, that the international community is trying more and more to keep the conflict from spreading to other regions, and less and less to halt the war in Bosnia itself.

[Prijovic] Fighters from Sandzak are often mentioned as the most extreme part of the Army of B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina]. What is the truth about the role of people from this region in the Bosnian conflict?

[Ljajic] The problem is that not a single name has been mentioned directly; instead, general figures and people are always cited. It must be pointed out that there are more than 250,000 people living in B-H who moved there from Sandzak, made homes and got jobs, and are treated as citizens of B-H. That is why they are fighting in Army of B-H units, defending their homes and cities.

Demilitarization of Sandzak

[Prijovic] A CSCE mission for Sandzak has been stationed in Novi Pazar for several months now. Has its presence contributed to stabilizing the general situation?

[Ljajic] Certainly. The presence of observers from several European countries is useful, and especially in the psychological sense it contributes to calming down the situation. We have asked that the mission be strengthened, so that it can be more effective. We have been informed that a branch of the permanent CSCE mission in Novi Pazar will be opened in Prijepolje before long. These people will be in charge of the western part of Sandzak, the opstinas of Priboj and Prijepolje and the border region near Pljevlja. Despite numerous problems, I believe that the CSCE mission will continue to mediate in the establishment of dialogue, especially in the aforementioned areas, but its presence is most important in terms of security.

[Prijovic] Is the SDA sticking to its demands for the full demilitarization of Sandzak?

[Ljajic] Yes. That is still our short-term and long-term demand, and we will continue to insist on it. Serbs and Muslims are capable of preserving the peace in this region by themselves, without the presence of members of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia. The events in Bosnia are proving us right in our view that people from outside sow additional animosity among old-timers. Although there is no alternative to political negotiations, every day stories circulate about campaigns to arm Muslims en masse. What chance would 350,000 Muslims have, even if they were equipped with the most modern weaponry, against the millions of people on the other side? It is certain that a few weapons are in the hands of people on

both sides, but we clearly do not have the option of any larger and more organized campaign to arm the people. Thus, I repeat that the war option is out of the question for us, but I am afraid that the various stories are only a pretext for something that could happen next.

[Prijovic] Lately the SDA for Sandzak and the Muslim National Council of Sandzak have not made themselves heard very often.

[Ljajic] As with other political organizations, with us as well there is an information blockade in effect. Recently Radio Novi Pazar decided not to broadcast an announcement by the Muslim National Council because it is not recognized by the competent state institutions. Although there is currently a solid wall in place between the two opposing sides, we hope that a dialogue can be established soon within the framework of the Geneva subgroup for the Sandzak issue, and that this problem will be further internationalized. During March I will visit the United States and familiarize representatives of the new U.S. administration with the problems in this region. In any event, the SDA for Sandzak will continue to advocate a peaceful solution to all controversial issues.

Serbian Link to U.S. Army Alleged

93BA0708A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 93 pp 42-43

[Article by Ivan Karlovic: "Has Belgrade Given Up on the A-Bomb?"]

[Text] Toward the end of the 1970's, the pandemic of Serbian expansionism took on continental proportions. "Universal Serbism" from Canada to Patagonia, from London to Sydney responded to the call of the tribal horn and rushed with zeal to aid realization of the "age-old dream" of a great Serbia, activating all its potential and connections.

One of the more distinguished Serbs in the Serbian emigre community, who was infected with the "virus of Serbian expansionism" immediately after Milosevic came to power, was the physicist Bogdan Maglic, an expert in particle physics and particle beams with a "world reputation," but at the same time a "soldier of the homeland," who by his own admission is vigilant even when the "sentries are sleeping." Maglic's public biography seems imposing at first glance. This at least on the evidence in the publication *American Men and Women of Science*, a biographical data base that includes more than 130,000 U.S. and Canadian scientists in the fields of the natural sciences, including figures on 190 scientists, mostly physicists, mathematicians, biologists, and chemists, who said that they were born on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and *Marquis Who's Who*, which includes not only scientists, but other important individuals from all fields of human endeavor.

Making Connections

But Maglic's biography also contains less-well-known activity that is shot through with charlatanry, megalomania, and specific work as an agent in the United States and armed forces of the United States, but on behalf of Serbian interests. He was born 5 August 1928 in Sombor. He graduated from Belgrade University with a degree in physics in 1951. He worked for a time in the B. Kidric Physics Institute in Vinca near Belgrade. On his own testimony, because he had second-rate potential, he went for postgraduate work to Liverpool in England. He took a master's degree in 1955, and after that he went to the United States, where he took his doctorate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology under the well-known physicist Bernard Feld.

That same year, 1959, he married for the first time. Later, he would do so three more times. His last wife (unlike the first three) is Serbian, the daughter of Dr. Milan Bulajic, the well-known chauvinist and "Ustashologist." His eventful and to a great extent disputed scientific work began immediately after he took his doctorate, when by accident he became a member of the team of Dr. Luis Alverez in the Lawrence Laboratory at the University of California in Berkeley. Alverez discovered the particle omega meson and received the Nobel Prize, while Maglic and three others received public commendation from President Kennedy. This is the point at which Maglic began to use other people's research results, to hide cleverly behind prestige, and to make connections.

Thanks to his collaboration with Alverez, the doors of CE[illegible] the international nuclear research organization [illegible] in Geneva, were open to Maglic. In 1967, he [illegible] to the United States and taught at Princeton Un[illegible]ty. Over the period from 1969 to 1974, he was employed as professor and researcher in high-energy physics at Rutgers University. Some time later, Maglic designed the Migma Fusion Reactor, a very complicated apparatus for guiding and focusing a particle beam and for generating a nuclear reaction which would become its own fuel (migma), and he invented a method for transforming the fusion energy obtained into electric power. So, a very speculative invention which would have replaced the large-scale nuclear power plants with MIGMA-reactors the size of a garbage can! Nevertheless, this invention did not impress the Americans the way it did the Serbs. That is, the U.S. Patent Office refused to patent Maglic's invention. The Atomic Energy Commission refused Maglic's grant proposal to cover further research, and the dean of Rutgers University did not allow lectures on "migma." There are sound reasons behind all these decisions, but Maglic attributed his failure to a "conspiracy" of jealous colleagues and the competitive "plasma establishment"! Sarcastic colleagues called Maglic "migma-man," but he did not give up.

He took advantage of the energy crisis and tried to get the Arabs to provide him further financing. He met with

Prince Muhamed al Faisal, who asked him several technical questions. Maglic did not know the answers, the prince and $50 million departed, and it became clear to Maglic that a fellow physicist had whispered those fatal questions to the prince, who did not understand the subject matter. In a rage, Maglic ejected his colleague from the office on the spot with a "boot in the ass." These and similar unscientific exhibitions caused him irreparable damage, and he sank deeper and deeper in scientific circles in the West.

The Sponge Agent

At that time, in the late 1970's, the defense industry experienced a strong development in Serbia and a huge military scientific research potential was built up (90 percent of the entire potential of the former SFRY!). In July 1978, a confidential document was produced in the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] entitled "Defense and Science." It literally states on page 11 that providing information about scientific knowledge which our scientists gain at the international level and which they judge might be of interest to national defense occupies a special place. "The transfer of this kind of scientific knowledge is the right, but also the duty, of every Yugoslav scientist." It goes on to propose establishment of professional bodies which would "...have to perform the primary cross-checking of this information and then supply it to the appropriate structures concerned with matters of national defense."

One of the most suitable persons to implement this conception on the territory of the United States was undoubtedly Bogdan "Bo" Maglic, i.e., "migma-man," "the ever-alert soldier of the fatherland," and, also important, the former fervent member of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] from Sombor. From that time on, he frequently visited Belgrade, he organized international scientific meetings, and "turned himself completely into a sponge" (statement made to POLITIKA EKSPRES in 1978), but he also openly stated to VECERNJE NOVOSTI..."that many scientific and technological successes are based on recruitment or the 'stealing' of other people's talents, which are scarce in the world."

The results of this kind of "scientific" policy were forthcoming. In large part thanks to the "sponge process," the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and defense industry of the former SFRY (especially on the territory of Serbia proper!) made ever greater use in its development of the results of its espionage in the West. The scale of that effort is indicated by an article published in 1984 in THE FINANCIAL TIMES, which speaks about the respectable potential of the Yugoslav defense industry, but also observes bitterly that the Yugoslavs had been stealing a great number of licenses and patents and selling them in large quantities to the nonaligned countries.

The ambitions of the Yugogenerals and Serbian defense industry did not stop at that. On the contrary, they went beyond conventional weapons! However, because Yugoslavia had asserted itself as the leading nonaligned country, followed by half of humanity, and was publicly opposed to the possession and further development of nuclear weapons, the original idea of making its own A-bomb on its own soil was discarded. But that did not preclude acting as an intermediary and providing help in the nuclear ambitions of other nonaligned countries (Iraq, for example). And "migma-man" was used for connections between the atomic lobbies.

Fervent Serbs

Along with his work as an agent and his recruitment, Maglic was consolidating his social status in the United States. He turned to business with his Migma, established foundations, became involved in affairs of foreign policy (he became an important communication link between the United States and the former Yugoslavia!). On the domestic political scene, he became a member of the prestigious Ripon Association (one of the important committees of the Republican Party), to which George Bush belonged until he became U.S. vice president. Maglic became a member of Ripon thanks to Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, of whom he said in an interview with BORBA on 18 January 1989 that he is a "great friend and advocate of Yugoslav international policy."

Maglic established a company, United Sciences, in the state of New Jersey. We learned from an interview in POLITIKA on 9 August 1987 that the company works entirely on development of aneutron energy. But we also learned that "...the company is financed by the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Air Force." Maglic goes on to explain that today's reactors have shielding to prevent radiation. That shielding is 100 or 1,000 times heavier than the reactor itself. If neutron-free energy were used, we would get airplanes propelled by a nuclear reactor requiring almost no shielding, so that airplanes would preserve their present dimensions.

In 1987, Maglic became scientific director for neutron-free energy at the Space Technology Center of the U.S. Air Force in New Mexico. The question logically arises: How did a man whom science rejected as a charlatan, a Serbian Ostap Bender, make his way so high in the hierarchy of the research system of the U.S. armed forces? The answer is provided by "migma-man" himself in an interview with NIN on 8 January 1989, when in explaining everything about the Serbian lobby in the United States (referred to as SAVA), he stated the following: "Let me say first who the people in SAVA are. These are all people born in the United States or of Serbian origin and almost all are high-level U.S. officers (generals, colonels), mostly in the Air Force. Many have changed their last names, so that they do not indicate that they are Serbs. But in reality they are. FERVENT ONES AT THAT." A few sentences further on he says: "We had no idea how many officers of Serbian origin there were in the U.S. armed forces. A great many of these people are from Lika, Banija, and Kordun."

A more intensive search for "fervent Serbs" in the U.S. Army, for needed scientists, and the awakening of "sleepers" infiltrated into sensitive structures of the West begins with the growth of Serbian national-socialism, with the rise of Milosevic, and with the takeover of leadership in the JNA by the Serbian Nazi generals. A hurried effort was made to unify all Serbian forces, "wherever they might be," in order to implement the racist and genocidal idea of Serbian expansionism.

That same year, 1987, the then assistant federal secretary for national defense responsible for scientific research was given the task of preparing a data base on "patriotic scientists" in the West, above all, in the United States, who might be of use to the JNA, that is, to Serbia. Using biographical publications accessible to the public and other sources, they arrived at new potential collaborators.

So General Vrtar sent the data on the potential "sponges" to the VPS [Military Economic Sector], to the COSSIS [Armed Forces Center for Strategic Research and Studies], to the second administration of the JNA General Staff (called KOS [Counterintelligence Service]!), and to the Security Service. That year and the years that followed marked the beginning of more systematic recruitment of scientists born on the soil of the former Yugoslavia, but others as well. Most refused collaboration with the JNA, but a small portion of "soldiers of the fatherland" nevertheless consented. Some came, but went back disappointed, while some nevertheless agreed to direct collaboration or some form of "correspondence school"!

Less is known at present about how successful the effort was to recruit "fervent Serbs" in the armed forces of the United States to help defend and promote the interests of the criminal idea of Serbian expansionism in the Army and political circles of the United States. It need not be indicative that well-inclined expressions of respect for the leading figures in the U.S. Army have been coming from the top leadership of the present Serbian Army, which is deeply involved in crimes against humanity. The Serbs are assuring themselves that the U.S. armed forces will not intervene against the Serbs, but that decision is not made by the military, but by the politicians. To be sure, the new U.S. administration is for the present not displaying an essentially firmer policy toward the Serbs who have been committing genocide than the former Bush administration, which had a particularly pro-Serb inclination.

The idea of the new U.S. President to airdrop food to the surrounded Muslims in Bosnia inevitably reminds one of the skilled activities of U.S. pilots who every winter drop food to snowbound animals in the impassable areas of the Rocky Mountains. Coming days, then, will show the world to what extent the new U.S. administration is really "new."

Also, in view of the fact that for years the Serbs have been stealing the West's military technology and pursuing an ideology of blood and soil with it, it is an obligation of the international community to finally put a stop to this and establish effective international control over Serbia's entire military potential and defense industry, over all of its public and secret laboratories (especially in Kumoraz and Vinca!). Otherwise, the West will bear double responsibility because it did not do anything effective to prevent Serbia's expansion with a murderous potential that began even in the research laboratories of the West! And that the West nevertheless does know for certain.

Shortage of Gasoline for Coupon Payments

93BA0769F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by M. Cebalovic: "Chaos on the Derivatives Market: Up to 35,000 Dinars for a Liter of Gasoline"]

[Text] *Gasoline could be found yesterday only for free sale at rented and private pumps at prices of 32,000 to 35,000 dinars, but also for 28,000 dinars at one "Jugopetrol" pump. Why there is no gasoline for coupons and how the government of Serbia is working for the benefit of private businessmen, and against the budget.*

As expected, gasoline has become more expensive at private and rented pumps, and since yesterday the price for super at pumps of "Dafiment Trade" and "Jugoskandik" (they agree on prices) has been 32,000 dinars, and for diesel 30,000 dinars. At some pumps also held by private operators, gasoline was sold even before the weekend according to different arrangements ("cash," on account, by check) and at different prices. For ready cash 29,000 was paid for a liter, for checks 34,200, and on account 35,600. Everything was based on a price of 1.6 German marks for gasoline and 1.2 marks for diesel. Incidentally, the mark was paid on account in Belgrade savings institutions and banks at up to 19,500 dinars. Dealers in derivatives expect a further increase—in foreign exchange, and with it in the price of gasoline.

Yesterday "Jugopetrol," probably to justify the name "trade in derivatives," released "free" gasoline, but only to one pump in Belgrade. The price was 20,000 dinars. According to some accounts, this is the most realistic price if 60 pfennigs is paid per liter, since the tax and other breaks in the price structure are "frozen" in nominal amounts.

With Coupons, When the Price Rises

There is no gasoline for coupons and there won't be any either in the next few days if the government of Serbia does not decide to raise prices. We conclude this from what we found out yesterday from several correspondents. The search for gasoline with coupons began at "Jugopetrol." They said they're getting gasoline, but only for priority needs. A further trace led to the refinery in Pancevo, but we found no contacts, and since they had

always sent us earlier to Novi Sad and the headquarters of NIS [Petroleum Industry of Serbia], we called NIS Director Milan Djakovic. Naturally, as in the past several months, it is difficult to find a contact. According to what NIS spokesman Zivko Sokolovacki told us two or three days ago, the problem is the price of gasoline. It is not worthwhile for NIS to sell gasoline for 30-40 pfennigs. We are expecting, it was said to us, a rise in prices.

We conclude that NIS will not sell gasoline until the price of gasoline is 8,000 dinars for coupons. Although NIS is a government firm, it is being shown that the government of Serbia is unable to contribute to bringing out gasoline for coupons. Moreover, that government guaranteed, at the end of February, that all drivers would get 15 liters of gasoline each from domestic petroleum. But perhaps the government, aware that citizens have meager reserves, doesn't even want to sell state gasoline at these prices, since it is of greater benefit to NIS to sell it to private parties at 13,000 dinars per liter. We found out yesterday that there is some of this. In this way the government avoids changing prices for derivatives before the 22d of the month, when inflation is calculated.

Prices Sky-High, Taxes "In the Cellar"

We attempted to find out from Velimir Mihajlovic, minister of trade, what the government will do, but like many times in the past, when Mihajlovic was acting minister for electric power, we haven't heard. He is always absent. Who will explain why there is no gasoline for coupons? In this way the government (un)knowingly pushes drivers toward private businessmen, where prices are already "at the ceiling" and taxes "in the cellar." We repeat, the tax is only 5,000 dinars regardless of the price at which gasoline is sold, and it can be changed only when retail prices are changed.

It is difficult for the republic budget, which actually relies more on the mint at Topcider, to have some use from taxes paid by private businessmen for turnover that only they know.

Can the state realize that the solution is not a "frozen" amount of taxes, or holding prices on "ice." The shortage of gasoline for coupons, the weak flow of money into the budget, and the fluctuation of taxes every 10 days according to private accounts or the black market on the street are the result of lack of action by the government.

Macedonia

Conflict, Changes in Macedonian Army General Staff

93BA0750E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 13

[Article by Dragan Nikolic: "Changes in Macedonian General Staff: Gen. Mitre Arsovski Replaced"]

[Text] *In a special decree, the president of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, has dismissed and retired the head of the General Staff of the Macedonian Army, Maj. Gen. Mitre Arsovski. Gen. Dragoljub Bocinov has been appointed to this post.*

It is said that this is the beginning of the end of the conceptual, personal, and other conflicts between the General Staff of the Macedonian Army and the Ministry of National Defense. Within the Macedonian government, Mitre Arsovski is considered a general who wants to build up an "expensive army, modeled after the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]," and it is also felt that his General Staff controls the Ministry of National Defense, seeking to have a military person instead of a civilian heading up that ministry.

It is said that he wanted the General Staff to be directly subordinate to the supreme command, the president of the republic, and that it enjoy clearly defined autonomy. It is thought that he opposed the creation of an officers corps through the existing educational system, which is supported by the Ministry of Defense, seeking instead the creation of a military academy as well as the development of all branches of the armed forces.

As supreme commander, Kiro Gligorov is not obligated to explain his appointments and retirements of generals, but it is thought that the generals—led by Arsovski—were directly opposing him in imposing their own concepts of defense and personal decisions. On numerous occasions, Gligorov has said that Macedonia does not want to develop as a military state.

Among other things, Gen. Arsovski was in favor of retaining the name of the biggest barracks in Macedonia—"Marshal Tito"—although Gligorov was (allegedly) in favor of calling it "Ilinden." Gen. Arsovski is also criticized for having provided assessments of the security situation and possible aggression against Macedonia that differed from the assessments of the political leadership.

The dismissal of Gen. Arsovski did not elicit any surprise in Skopje; it had been expected for months. In some quarters, however, there was surprise at the appointment of Adm. Dragoljub Bocinov, the former head of the Lora Naval Academy, as the new head of the General Staff of the Macedonian Army. First of all because upon arriving in Macedonia, as a man "convicted of subverting the combat readiness" of the former army, he went out on a limb as an advocate of the creation of a military academy in Skopje, and also of Macedonia as a military state.

Some political parties support the demilitarization of Macedonia in their programs, which is deemed unrealistic. Macedonian authorities are trying to build up an army as a "border guard." Kiro Gligorov has said on many occasions that the army's mission is to guard the borders. It is thought that this orientation, among other things, has led to an easing of tensions between the army and the police, which were on the brink of an armed showdown during the previous government of Nikola Kljusev, given the fact that both the military and the

police wanted to become the mainstay of defense. The police were moving into military housing.

It is possible that Adm. Bocinov is an "interim solution" from Arsovski's "hard line" in the direction of resolving the issue of defense in accordance with Macedonia's "possibilities and traditions."

Kosovo

Army Vehicles Reportedly Parade Through Villages

AU2903195893 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 61 in English 29 Mar 93

[Unattributed report issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo: "Movements of the Serbian Army in Albanian Villages"]

[Text] Last Saturday, 27 March, through the villages of Dobercan, and Petrovc of Kamenica, military movements and maneuvers of the Serbian Army took place. Around 8 A.M., five military trucks and a jeep carrying soldiers paraded through the villages shouting and shooting in the air. The military column coming from Bujanovc returned once again around 10 A.M., behaving the same way, apparently to provoke the local residents. An hour later some 30 military vehicles paraded through the village of Dobercan, escorted by vehicles carrying machine guns and mortars. Shootings were proliferated, but thanks to the caution of the residents no incident occurred.

Vojvodina

Expansion of Vojvodjanska Bank

93BA0769B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by B. Pumic: "Talks With Successful Businessmen: Good Operations Even Without Speculation"]

[Text] *Despite the blockade, more than 500 banks have signed agreements on future cooperation with the Vojvodjanska Bank. The economy of Vojvodina has paid a bill of 40 billion dinars to preserve social peace with cheap flour and bread.*

"I am Voban," the refined robot man with white sleeves and a black bow tie has intrusively introduced himself each evening over the small screens. Perhaps the mobile marionette has gotten on the nerves of some, but owing to Voban, as a trademark, everyone has suddenly found out about the Vojvodjanska Bank.

In this way Voban, and with him the Vojvodjanska Bank, entered every home last year, in a manner of speaking, overnight. But this bank, slowly but surely, cleared the way to the top in banking for years before it imposed itself on the public. At the time of the transformation of banks into share companies, at the beginning of 1990, it was in eighth place but climbed to third place at the end of that year.

According to the ranking that the newspaper EKONOMSKA POLITIKA publishes each year, the Vojvodjanska Bank, by total balance, was the largest bank in the country in 1991. Last year this bank realized a profit of more than 28 billion dinars; this, along with other positive results, will certainly place it at the very top of banking.

What is it that separates Vojvodjanska Bank from other banks? With savings and moderate interest, behind which the security of the bank stands, the Vojvodjanska Bank has primarily, and from the outset, moved toward the economy. At a time when all are turning their backs on a stumbling economy, trying through various financial transactions to grab as much profit as possible, this bank is showing that one can also operate well through investing money in the economy.

Specifically, the Vojvodjanska Bank places the most funds in agriculture. Its share in financing the Vojvodina economy is between 60 and 75 percent: It is the largest creditor of primary agricultural production and the food industry in Serbia, it invests in production in seven sugar refineries and five oil plants, as well as in stocks of wheat at the Office for Commodity Reserves....

Nevertheless, that it is not easy to have good business results and at the same time invest in the economy is confirmed by Zivota Mihajlovic, general director of the Vojvodjanska Bank:

"Our bank is paying and is still paying a large bill for preserving social peace in the country with cheap flour and bread. We are not satisfied even with the work of the NB [National Bank] of Yugoslavia, because it is not carrying out the decisions that it made itself, because of which the economy of Vojvodina has been harmed by 40 billion dinars."

However, despite all difficulties, the number one man of this bank is not complaining much. Many plans are before the Vojvodjanska Bank. Let's say that foreign exchange is being bought up at teller windows from citizens at the market rate of exchange which will be earmarked exclusively for the purchase of medicines and raw materials. Housing credits are also in the plan.

Thus the network of affiliates is expanding: There are currently 11 of them, of which two are in Vukovar and Beli Manastir, and a branch is supposed to be opened any day, luxuriously furnished, in the very center of Belgrade, on Makedonska street.

Along with "regular" business with the economy and the population, the Vojvodjanska Bank is currently "preoccupied" with the purchase of foreign debt as well—$30 million has been bought, and another $100 million is planned.

Another thing that is certainly important to mention, and which Mr. Mihajlovic is especially emphasizing, is that the Vojvodjanska Bank, at a time when many financial houses are not adhering to the letter of the law, is operating exclusively according to its paragraphs. However, even this has not kept it from operating really successfully, without various speculations.

This is also confirmed by the fact that the Vojvodjanska Bank subjected its 1991 account to an English auditing house from which it obtained a favorable rating. Their opinion has opened the doors wide for the Vojvodjanska Bank throughout the whole world: Last year, in spite of the blockade, more than 500 world banks signed agreements on future cooperation.

Isn't this also proof that one can operate well and honestly. There is no more Voban on the small screens. Instead of him, a gold coin spins as a trademark, but the Vojvodjanska Bank, about which everyone knows now, remains.